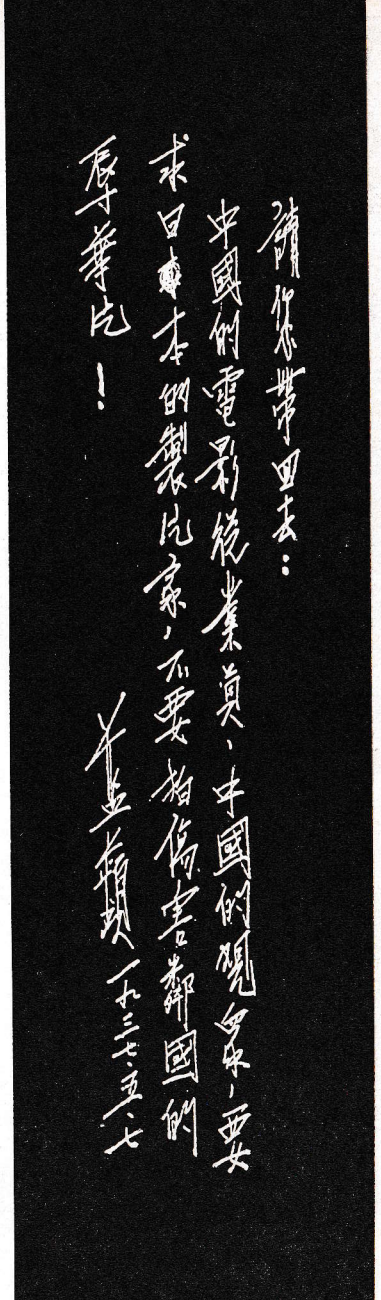
MADAME MAO

A Profile of Chiang Ching

By
Chung Hua-min
Arthur C. Miller

Lan P'ing (center) in Shanghai, 1934.

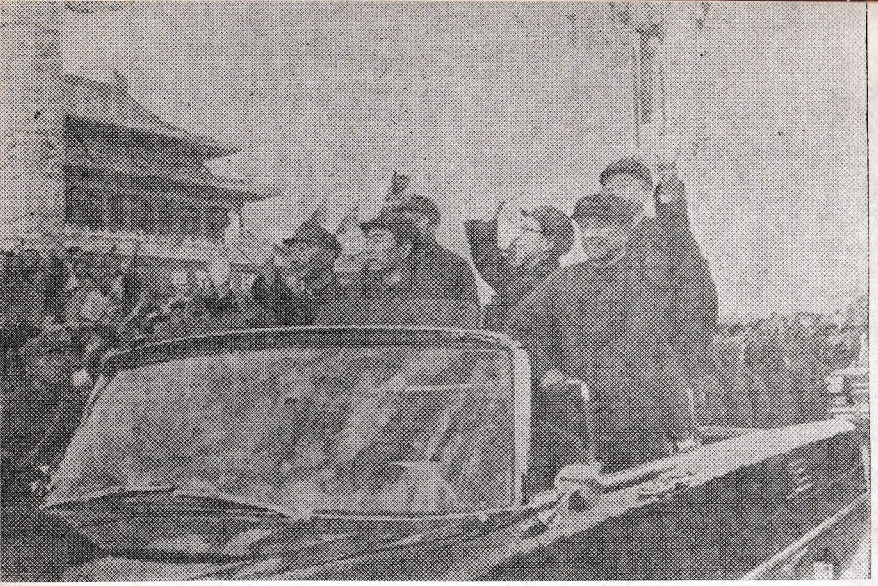
Lan P'ing in the film "The Chinese Children", produced by the Central Movie Studio in 1939. At her right is Ch'ao Tan.



A facsimile of Lan P'ing's handwriting.

Chiang Ch'ing and Mao Tse-tung photographed at Yenan, 1945.

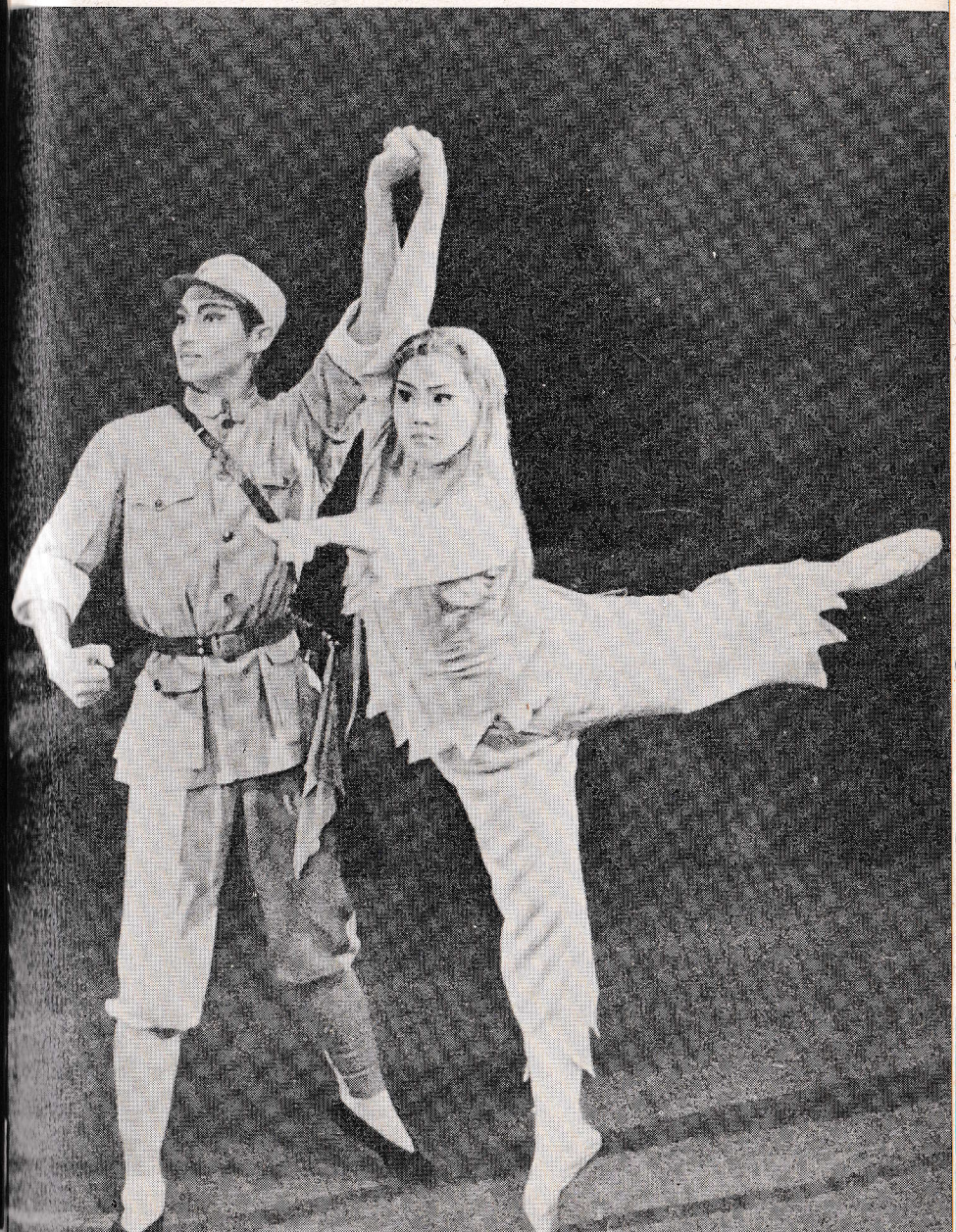
Mao Tse-tung and Chiang Ch'ing receiving Anna Louise Strong, an American writer, on November 24, 1965.



Chiang Ch'ing riding with Chou En-lai and T'ao Chu at Mao Tse-tung's second reception of the Red Guards on August 31, 1966.

Chiang Ch'ing reviewing the rally at Tien An Men balcony on August 31, 1966.

"The White-haired Girl", Chiang Ch'ing's model opera.



Chiang Ch'ing and Mao Tse-tung on May 1, 1967 receiving Yao Teng-shan (standing between Mao and Chiang), Charge d'Affaires ad interim of the Chinese Embassy in Indonesia, after he was expelled by the Indonesian Government.

Chiang Ch'ing (top left) with Ch'en Po-ta (below right) and K'ang Sheng (center) at the inaugural meeting of the Peking Municipal Revolutionary Committee on April 20, 1967.

Chiang Ch'ing, Ch'en Po-ta (left) and K'ang Sheng (right) receiving the masses on the evening of May 1, 1967.

Chou En-lai, Chiang Ch'ing, K'ang Sheng and Ch'en Po-ta riding to Tien An Men square on the evening of May 1, 1967.

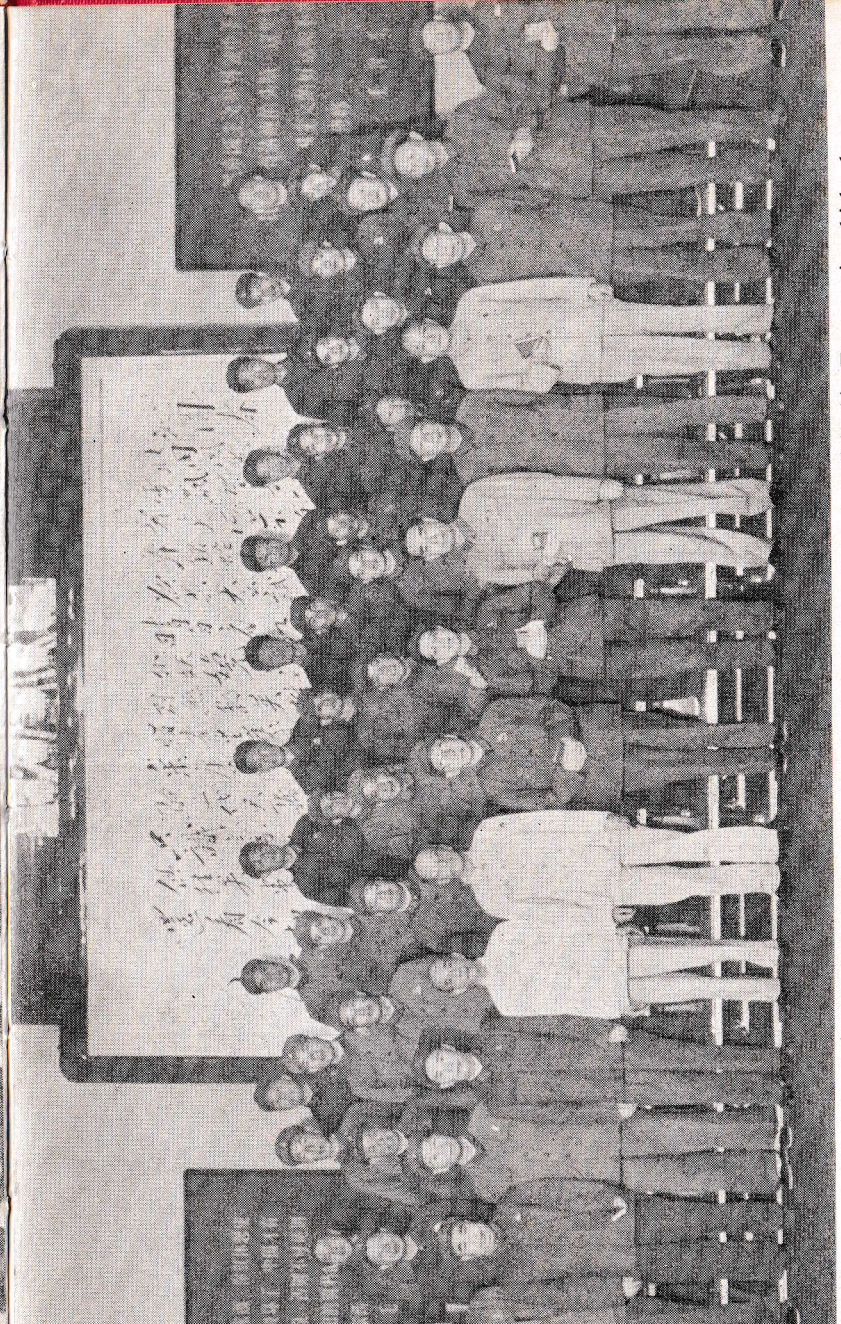
Mao Tse-tung receiving all the members of the Peking Municipal Revolutionary Committee on the evening of May 1, 1967. From left: Hsiao Hua, Wang Li, Chiang Ch'ing, K'ang Sheng, Ch'en Po-ta, Lin Piao and Mao Tse-tung.

Chiang Ch'ing presiding over the meeting commemorating the 25th anniversary of Mao Tse-tung's "Talks at the Yenan Forum on Literature and Art" on May 23, 1967.

Chiang Ch'ing in discussion with young Red Guards, 1967.

Chiang Ch'ing receiving performers of the Literary and Art Work Team of the Armed Forces of PLA in Peking in July, 1967.

Chiang Ch'ing, who was ill at the time, at the closing ceremony of the symposium commemorating the 25th anniversary of Mao Tse-tung's "Talks at the Yenan Forum on Literature and Art" held by the Afro-Asian Writers' Permanent Council in Peking in June, 1967.



On September 2, 1967 the Chinese leaders receive representatives of the PLA Air Force unit which shot down U.S. planes. Chiang Ch'ing stands at the center instead of Mao Tse-tung.

About the authors

Chung Hua-min is the pen-name of a senior researcher of the Union Research Institute. He has written numerous books and articles on contemporary Chinese affairs under various pen-names. In order to protect his relatives in mainland China, he has kept his real name a secret, even to his close friends in Hong Kong. Besides being a first-class China-watcher, he is a fine scholar in Chinese classical literature.

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UNION RESEARCH INSTITUTE

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PREFACE

This is not a biography. It is, as it only can be, a portrait in general outline and occasional detail. As with nearly all prominent figures of modern China, both living and dead, there is a dearth of information about the personal life and even official activities of Madame Mao, or Chiang Ch'ing as she is known officially. Yet she has emerged during the past few years as a woman of such immediate and perhaps long-term significance that some attempt must be made to more fully explain her place in China's affairs. She is of interest both to the specialist and the non-specialist for she is on one hand a political force in her own right and on the other a unique individual as the wife of Mao Tse-tung. It is the hope of the authors to provide in this book a glimpse of both Chiang Ch'ings, a glimpse of value to all who are interested in present-day China.

The sources of information used in this profile of Madame Mao are varied to say the least. Some useful detail about her personal life has come from official Chinese publications, but most has been gleaned from the myriad Red Guard publications that appeared during the Cultural

Revolution and from former friends and acquaintances. No official biography of Chiang Ch'ing's life has been made public, nor has it been possible to extract information from the other usual sources used in profiles or biographies of individuals. Much of the information on the earliest period of her life has come from friends and acquaintances who knew her either at the time recorded or, as in a few cases, had access to information about the period described. Because it is intended that this work be of value to the specialist, the sources of information have been recorded in footnotes when possible and an appendix of Chiang Ch'ing's available speeches has been included. In many cases, particularly during the earlier period of her life, it has not been possible to note the source. This is so because a number of people living in Hong Kong, Taiwan and elsewhere do not wish at this time to be publicly identified as having known her. Thus the authors must be held responsible not only for the conclusions but for many of the statements of fact about her personal and official life.

No one is more aware than the authors that this story of Chiang Ch'ing's life is incomplete. Yet, at the time of publication, it is the most detailed account that has so far appeared. Hopefully it will assist those who wish to know more of this unique and obscure woman.

Chung Hua-min
Arthur C. Miller

April, 1968

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PROLOGUE

At 7:30 on the morning of August 18, 1966, Chinese Communist Party Chairman Mao Tse-tung mounted the gaily decorated Tien An Men (Gate of Heavenly Peace) rostrum in Peking. An Army band struck up "The East Is Red". The one million people crowded into the expansive square lunged slightly forward and roared their approval. Mao, clad in the olive-green, cotton uniform of the Chinese People's Liberation Army, stood god-like, his face impassive, his right hand waving mechanically in response to the throbbing cheers. It was a moment that Mao would never forget, the Chinese people would long remember, and the outside world would record as a momentous occasion in the history of modern China.

For Mao the rally was a victory celebration. Nine months earlier he had made a decision: if China were to avoid the backward drift into capitalism he saw happening in the Soviet Union, drastic measures would be needed. It would be necessary to create an upheaval in China that would sweep away the latent and real influences threatening to produce a capitalist restoration. The Chinese Commun-

ist Party — the cornerstone of the Chinese state — would have to be cleansed. All the old ideas, old culture, old customs and old habits (later abbreviated to "the four olds") that had embedded themselves in Chinese minds for 2,000 years would have to be eliminated, and new ones fostered to replace them.

Throughout the Autumn and Winter of 1965-66, Mao's attempt to launch his decision met rough going. Considerable opposition in the highest ranks of the leadership swelled up to undermine the revolution Mao sought. Peking, the capital, was in the hands of those who opposed the Chairman. He was unable even to gain access to the press in that city. But the revolution had to be launched, and Shanghai, the nation's largest and ironically most bourgeois-inclined city, offered him the sympathy and support he needed. On November 10, 1965, the Shanghai *Wen-hui Pao* printed an article by a young ideologue named Yao Wen-yuan entitled "On the New Historical Play 'Hai Jui Dismissed From Office.'" It was a scathing attack on historian and playwright Wu Han, a man highly respected in intellectual circles and highly favored among senior officials in Peking. The opening shot, at last, was fired.

To the outside world, gazing as inevitably it must through a shroud of mist and cloud, the attack on Wu Han's 1961 play was noted with interest but without immediate and full realization of its significance. Other literary figures had come under fire in preceding years; the attack was not printed in the official Party organ *People's Daily,* but in a newspaper of secondary importance and influence. Obviously another rectification campaign against China's men of letters was underway. But in reality the nation's literati had been the subject of virtually incessant debate since the Communists came to power in 1949.

Strange things, however, began to happen. The *Peking*

Daily, the organ of the Party Committee in the capital, reprinted Yao Wen-yuan's article on November 29 with an editorial note declaring the debate over Wu Han's play strictly an academic matter and not a political problem. It offered no criticism of Wu Han or the play. The following day, the *Liberation Army Daily,* also published in Peking, reprinted the article and flatly labelled Wu Han's play a "poisonous weed." It was, the daily stated, clearly a political question. Not so, chimed in the prestigous *People's Daily,* reprinting the article the same day as the army paper but with an editorial note similar to the one in the *Peking Daily.*

Behind the scenes, the struggle over the nature of Wu Han's play went on. Then in December, suddenly, inexplicably, the nation burst out in a frantic roar of Maophonia. The press and radio throughout China began giving immense publicity to Mao and his "thoughts." As the outpouring reached a fevered crescendo, the question of Wu Han again surfaced. The *Peking Daily* published on December 27 the playwright's "Self-Criticism Concerning 'Hai Jui Dismissed From Office.'" Wu Han maintained the only errors he had committed were in his academic understanding. But he, and others, knew better.

As the outside world was to learn officially more than a year later,* but suspected months before, Wu Han's play was an attack on Mao himself. By use of historical allusion — the traditional form of literary criticism — he had characterized Mao as a 16th century emperor who unjustly dismissed an honest, upright official. The wronged official,

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* Mao was quoted by the *Hsinhua News Agency,* May 28, 1967, as saying: "In 'Hai Jui Dismissed From Office', the crucial problem was his being 'dismissed from office.' Emperor Chia Ching dismissed Hai Jui from office, in 1959 we dismissed P'eng Teh-huai from his office. P'eng Teh-huai is also 'Hai Jui'." Ergo, Mao was Chia Ching.

of course, was former Defense Minister P'eng Teh-huai, ousted in 1959 after making a written condemnation of the excesses of the Great Leap Forward and the People's Communes.

For the next three months, a stifling silence filled the official news outlets. Only the fantastic deification of Mao went on unabated. Behind that facade of great popularity, however, Mao was facing a crucial test. No less a senior official than P'eng Chen, mayor of Peking and a member of the Party's omnipotent Politburo, was openly declaring: "It is now clearly found that Comrade Wu Han has no relationship with P'eng Teh-huai, therefore there should be no mention of the Lushan Conference (when P'eng was dismissed)."*

Aside from the question of Wu Han, on February 12, 1966, the Central Committee of the Party approved for nation-wide distribution the "Thesis Report on the Current Academic Debate Made by the Group of Five in Charge of the Cultural Revolution."** The group of five was under the chairmanship of P'eng Chen, the man who clearly was coming to be identified as a staunch opponent of Mao's grand design for saving the nation from capitalism. The "Thesis Report," it was later claimed, was made by P'eng Chen alone. It was in complete contradiction to what Mao desired.

It is, unfortunately, too early to attempt a definitive explanation of what transpired during the months of January, February and March, 1966. The scanty information available comes solely from the side of Mao's supporters; there is at this writing no way to obtain a balanced view. But suffice it to say that this was a significant period during

* *Hsinhua News Agency,* May 17, 1967.
***Hsinhua News Agency,* May 16, 1967.

which Mao was able to assess and test the strength of his opposition. It was a period during which he struck quick, silent, fatal blows at the major obstacles in his way: P'eng Chen and his clique in Peking, Chief of Staff Lo Jui-ch'ing in the army, and Lu Ting-yi, the Director of Propaganda of the Party Central Committee, the man in charge of the country's information media.

By mid-April, the upheaval at first called the "Socialist Cultural Revolution" and later the "Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution," was gaining momentum. The Peking press began publishing articles openly attacking and denouncing Wu Han. The dean of China's literati, Kuo Mo-jo, made a self-deprecating speech on April 14 severely criticising himself for failure to learn properly Mao's "thought" and suggesting, however seriously, that all his own previous writings were unworthy and should be put to torch.

The month of May brought further indications of upheaval in Peking. The *Liberation Army Daily* replaced the *People's Daily,* for the first time ever, as the leading, policy-setting organ. Only once in the entire month did the *People's Daily* publish an independent editorial, and that was condemned by the *Liberation Army Daily* for spreading "absurd ideas." Mao, who had last appeared in public on November 26, 1965, surfaced again and received Albanian leader Mehmet Shehu on May 6. Two days later the full-blown campaign against the nation's writers and artists began.

On May 16, 1966, the Party Central Committee issued a directive revoking the "Thesis Report" prepared by P'eng Chen, dissolved the old group in charge of the Cultural Revolution and replaced it with a new organization.* Mao

* *Hsinhua News Agency,* May 16, 1967, op. cit.

was on the move. His next step was to reorganize the old Party Committee in the capital; this he did on May 25, and the new committee immediately decided to reshuffle the staffs of the *Peking Daily* and the *Peking Evening News* and to close down the *Frontline Magazine.* All were said to be under the influence of P'eng Chen. That same afternoon seven teachers at Peking University posted a Ta Tze Pao (big character poster) attacking the University's president, Lu P'ing.

The next few weeks were a period of staggering changes, shifts and twists. T'ao Chu, the 1st Secretary of the Party's Central-South Bureau, became the new Director of the Party's Propaganda Department. Literally hundreds of party officials, government functionaries, writers, artists, professors, university presidents, journalists and academicians came under fire. On June 1, Mao directed that the Ta Tze Pao posted at Peking University be given national publicity. The *People's Daily* was taken over by soldier-journalists loyal to Mao, and the paper resumed its leading position. The term "Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution" first appeared.

Mao Tse-tung was still out of Peking, which he had left in late November 1965, and presumably at his favorite hideaway in Hangchow near Shanghai. In his absence State Chairman Liu Shao-ch'i and Party General-Secretary Teng Hsiao-p'ing dominated the rapidly unfolding Cultural Revolution. On June 13, it was announced that the nation's educational system was to be revamped, and the schools would be closed for half a year. Without public fanfare, Red Guard organizations began to spring up in middle schools and colleges and universities.

On July 16, reports reached the outside world of Mao's incredible 65-minute, nine-mile swim in the Yangtze River

near Wuhan.* Two days later he was back in Peking, where he found the waters even more turbulent than those of the Yangtze. During his absence from the capital, Liu Shao-ch'i and Teng Hsiao-p'ing had made, in Mao's view, a mess of the Cultural Revolution, either deliberately or by a failure to understand Mao's intentions. Or perhaps Mao interpreted their action as failure in a cold, calculated attempt to rid himself of his principal, or potentially principal, adversaries.

Whatever the case, by August 1 Mao felt sufficiently strong to personally convene a stacked 11th Plenary Session of the 8th Central Committee of the Party — the first plenary that had been held since September 1962. Only sketchy details are available on what happened at that meeting. Several days were devoted to discussing the direction and outlook for the Cultural Revolution. During the latter part of the plenary, Liu Shao-ch'i came in for criticism. On the same day the plenary opened, which is also the day China celebrates its Army Day, the ousting of Lo Jui-ch'ing was confirmed: the press mentioned Yang Ch'eng-wu, formerly a deputy chief of the general staff, as the "Acting Chief of Staff."

On August 8, the 11th Plenum adopted a Decision on the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. That 16-point document was meant to lay the bounds and limits, the goals and ambitions of the movement. That it failed to do so, that it failed to hold the upheaval in check, became only too apparent in the following months.

The plenary meeting closed on August 12 and a communique was issued two days later. It was of more significance for what it failed to say than for what it said. Only later was it apparent that the structure and leadership of

---

* Whether he ever actually made the swim, or whether he swam the distance claimed, is, of course, a moot question.

the Party had been drastically altered during that meeting.

One of the first clues came that balmy morning on August 18 when Mao made the first of his eight public receptions that year at Tien An Men. The man who had once ranked second only to Mao, and Mao's assumed heir, Liu Shao-ch'i, stood eighth on the list of officials on the rostrum. None of the officially released photographs of the occasion showed Liu. Defense Minister Lin Piao, for years only rarely seen in public, stood at Mao's immediate left. It was he who delivered the keynote address, ahead even of the wily Premier, Chou En-lai, and it was he who obviously ranked second. A new leadership lineup clearly was in the making.

Mao now had the central leadership reins in hand, and the speech by his protege, Lin Piao, indicated where he was heading:

> The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is aimed precisely at eliminating bourgeois ideology, establishing proletarian ideology, remolding people's souls, revolutionizing their ideology, digging out the roots of revisionism, and consolidating and developing the socialist system.
>
> We will strike down those in authority who are taking the capitalist road, strike down the reactionary bourgeois authorities, strike down all bourgeois royalists, oppose any act to suppress the revolution, and strike down all ghosts and monsters.
>
> We will energetically eradicate all the old ideas, old culture, old customs and old habits of the exploiting classes, and transform all those parts of the superstructure that do not correspond to the socialist economic base. We will sweep out all the vermin and clear away all obstacles!*

* *Peking Review,* No. 35, August 26, 1967.

For the Red Guards, who made their public debut at that rally and who are now all too infamous, the message was acknowledged. Their rampages through China's past, present and even future that followed will long be remembered.

Against the backdrop of this eventful day, it was hardly surprising that little notice was taken of the matronly, bespectacled, middle-aged woman done up in PLA uniform who also stood on the Tien An Men balcony. A broad smile creasing her round, not uncompelling face, a copy of the red, plastic-covered little book of the *Quotations of Chairman Mao* grasped in her right hand, she waved enthusiastically as she looked out on the milling crowds that filled the square. For Chiang Ch'ing, the day was as much a treasured moment in her life as in the life of her husband, Mao Tse-tung.

At first it was merely considered interesting that she had made a public appearance, for she rarely was seen at Mao's side. The last time, in fact, had been in 1964.* On such an important occasion as this rally, coming as it did at the end of the 11th Plenum and bringing with it such startling changes in the country's political life, it was understandable that she might wish to be on hand.

The slighting of Madame Mao, however, was soon to be corrected. When the second "mass rally" was held in Peking on August 31, it became evident that Chiang Ch'ing was more than "just on hand." It was she who declared the rally open. For the first time, she was identified as the First Deputy Head of the new Cultural Revolution Group under the Central Committee of the Party. It was indicative of her arrival in the center of China's political

* In November 1964, with Liu Shao-ch'i and his wife, and Mao, she accompanied the King and Queen of Afghanistan to a stage performance. (*Peking Review,* No. 45, Nov. 6, 1964).

stage that the official Chinese news agencies, reporting on the rally, hastily sent out a correction to the early report that identified her only as a deputy head of the Cultural Revolution Group. She was, the correction said, First Deputy Head.

From that time up to the time of this writing, Chiang Ch'ing has exercised all the power and authority that position gave her. Who is this woman who is helping shape the destiny of China? Who is this woman who can, as the wife of Mao Tse-tung, rightly claim the throne of First Lady in a nation of more than 700 million? Who is this woman, indeed, who now stands four-square in the center of China's political stage at a time of crucial change?

CHAPTER I
THE EARLY YEARS

Chiang Ch'ing was born approximately in 1914* in Chucheng county, Shantung Province. Chucheng lies on the tip of the Shantung peninsula, a fertile, hilly land only a few miles from the waters of the Gulf of Chihli and 56 miles west of the port city, Tsingtao. The area is known among Chinese as a place of abundant food and contented people, a land that produces men of fame and literary accomplishment.** But the time of Chiang Ch'ing's birth was not one of the peace and tranquility for which Chucheng county was known. World War I had upset the

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* No biographic data have been published by China which can be used to pinpoint her precise birth date. Some sources use the date 1910, others 1913. We have used 1914 based on interviews with old acquaintances of hers who, working back from the age at which they knew her, estimate her birth date at about 1914, or perhaps 1915.

** The number of people from this county who served in educational institutes of the provincial level and those who went on to receive a higher education was larger than that of any other county in Shantung. Wang Tung-chao, Tsang Ke-chia and K'ang Sheng (his original name was Chao Yung), one of the top leaders in China during the Cultural Revolution, were natives of Chucheng.

balance of might of the various foreign powers vying for spheres of interest in China. The German concessions in Shantung had suddenly become vulnerable, and the Japanese wasted little time in staking their claim. Japanese troops, in violation of China's rights and neutrality, made a rear attack and marched through Shantung to take the German concession at Kiaochow, the port of Tsingtao. Soon afterwards Japan issued its 21 Demands in an attempt to make China a vassal state. The President of the young, wobbly Chinese Republic, Yuan Shih-k'ai, was plotting to make himself emperor. The national unity fostered by the overthrow of the Manchu Dynasty in 1911 was in an advanced state of deterioration.

This was the era — an era of internal strife, war and revolution — into which Chiang Ch'ing was born. The daughter of a family of modest means named Luan, she was christened Shu-meng. As with so many of the leading contemporary personalities in China, little is known of Luan Shu-meng's earliest years, or of her family. There are some reports that her father was a small merchant, others that he was a middle-class peasant. But none is documented and there are no official Chinese accounts to rely on. It is believed that Shu-meng's father died while she was quite young. Her mother, though in poor health, went to work as a maidservant to support herself and Shu-meng.

When Shu-meng was seven or eight years old, she was taken by her widowed mother to Tsinan, the provincial capital, where they lived with Shu-meng's maternal grandfather, Li Tzu-ming. Li was the superintendent of a middle school, a post in those days that made him not the head of the school but rather a supervisor of the students' living conditions. At best, he earned a meagre income. But through his contacts with people in educational circles in Tsinan, he was able to get Shu-meng enrolled in the primary

school attached to the Provincial First Teachers' School. There she stayed for about six years, graduating when she was 13 or 14.

There is some disagreement among the available sources on the next period of her life. There is one report* that she lived alone with her mother in Tsinan, who, finding it increasingly difficult to support Shu-meng, wanted to sell her. Learning of this, the story goes, Shu-meng protested, but to no avail. Having no other recourse, she went to the police and asked for protection. That was in the spring of 1929, shortly after the Shantung Provincial Experimental Drama Academy was established. This academy recruited young people to be taught various forms of acting. According to this report, the police sent Shu-meng to the academy.

The other story** has it that Shu-meng's mother died sometime during the last year or two that she was attending the Provincial First Teachers' School. Unlike many youngsters whose parents died while they were still children and who were forced into living off the streets or becoming indentured servants, prostitutes or slaves, Shu-meng was able to stay on with her grandfather. But he made her change her surname to Li and gave her the name Yun-ho (white crane in the clouds).*** Yet despite the good fortune of having a relative who would protect and provide for her, Yun-ho did not escape the evil winds of the times.

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* This report comes from *Who's Who In Communist China,* Institute of International Relations, Taiwan, Republic of China, August, 1967.

** This story is related by former acquaintances of both Chiang Ch'ing and her grandfather, Li Tzu-ming. It is impossible to tell which story, if either, is true. The unattributed stories about her early years, where they appear in this book, are presented simply as stories told about her and are not to be taken as absolute fact.

*** There are also reports that her given name was Ching-yun (blue clouds). But this may have been a name she used later when she was working at Tsingtao University.

In Tsinan as elsewhere in China in those days there were still some men engaged in the business of kidnapping and selling young girl. Although the old imperial dynasty had been overthrown and a republic established along Western lines, old ideas were changing slowly. Popular attitude still held women in low esteem; female children were considered burdens and certainly of little value, for when they grew up they would marry and go to live with their husbands' families. They would not join the labor force of their own families. Many people, living on a bare subsistence income, could scarcely afford to go looking for a lost daughter or granddaughter. So the trade in kidnapped young girls went on, for there was always a market for them in houses of prostitution and in theatrical troupes. The men engaged in this questionable business were called "Pai Hua Tse", or flower-patting thieves.*

During one summer when Yun-ho was about 15, she is said to have been lured away by one of the "flower-patting thieves." The incident occured because there was no one to look after her during the days when her grandfather was at work or away. But then, too, Yun-ho was not the type to stay at home and was curious and prone to inviting trouble. Even at a very early age she was something of an extrovert. After her disappearance, Li Tzu-ming attempted to find her, but without success. Then more than a year later, old Li went to a theater in Tsinan and, to his amazement, saw her performing on the stage. With the help of influential friends, he was able to negotiate a settlement and win her release. A sprightly teenager blossoming with maidenhood, Yun-ho was becoming an attractive,

* According to popular tales, the flower-patting thieves were supposed to have used a special drug to abduct the girls. The name comes from the belief that the thieves would put a pinch of the drug on a finger-tip, pat the head of the intended victim, and lo, the young girls would follow the drug-bearing Pied Piper to his lair.

refined, good-mannered but ever-gregarious young lady. She handled herself with such self-assurance that she soon won the shibboleth, "the big Miss Li."

Yun-ho was truly a favorite of her maternal grandfather. To say that he doted a great amount of affection and care on her would be no exaggeration. Old Li, having no other family about him, delighted in Yun-ho's youth, vigor and freshness. She was his only family, just as he was hers.* Now that she was back in his household, he was determined to provide her with the best he could. After making arrangements, he told Yun-ho that he would like her to enter the Tsinan Middle School to further her studies. Yun-ho refused.** The "big Miss Li" had tasted the excitement and glamour of the stage, the profligate life of the theatrical world of that day. The year she had been away had whetted her appetite for adventure; her grandfather's home offered little but confinement. For this reason she did not try for the middle school. Instead, she enrolled at the Provincial Experimental Drama Academy.*** This academy was established in Taian, Shantung, after the Northern Expeditionary Army took over Shantung in 1928. When the Japanese troops in the province departed, the institute was moved, together with the provincial seat, to Tsinan. The director of the academy was Chao T'ai-mo, a dramatist returned from the United States. He also was Dean of Tsingtao University. The capital, Tsinan, and the port city of Tsingtao lay an overnight train journey apart.

* There is no official record of Chiang Ch'ing having any brothers or sisters, although there is one source who says that she had an older sister. The sister, in any case, did not accompany Chiang Ch'ing and her mother to Tsinan.

** *Who's Who in Communist China,* Taiwan, op. cit., says she did in fact attend the Tsinan Middle School. The authors' sources insist she did not.

*** The only consistent point in the two stories is that Chiang Ch'ing ended up at the Drama Academy, where she received her first formal dramatic training.

Thus while Chao retained the post of director of the Drama Academy, he spent most of his time in Tsingtao and those who actually looked after the academy's affairs were Wang P'e-sheng and Wu Jui-yen, husband and wife, who were known for their accomplishments in Mandarin-language stage plays and Peking Opera.

The academy belonged to the Education Department of the Shantung Provincial government. All students were given training, free of tuition, in Peking Opera, and Soochow and Mandarin stage plays. Emphasis was laid on the training in stage plays and on Saturdays and Sundays public performances were given. Again, little is known about Yun-ho's activities while at the academy. Several personalities who later were to become quite well-known attended the school at approximately the same time as Yun-ho. Among them, Wei Ho-ling, who became a star in the Shanghai movie world, and Chao Jung-shen, a brilliant Peking Opera performer, already had distinguished themselves during their student days. Nothing, however, is heard of the acting of Yun-ho.

In 1933, when she was about 19 years old, Yun-ho left the academy. But she did not return to her maternal grandfather's home.* Instead she went to Tsingtao and, as a student, called on Chao T'ai-mo, the dean of the University. The President of Tsingtao University at that time was Yang Chen-sheng, who had studied at Peking University. Early in the May Fourth Movement period**

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* There is one story that she married a man named Pei about this time. His full name and identity, however, did not survive with the tale of the marriage. In any case, if it took place it must have been short lived, for there is no indication she was married when she reached Tsingtao University.

** The May Fourth Movement, 1919, was an intensely patriotic movement started by students at Peking University in protest over the decision at Versailles to give Japan the former German concession in Shantung.

Yang had written a lengthy, provocative novel, *Yu Chun* (Honorable Jade). His writings, plus those of a faculty including at various times such famous men of letters as Wen I-tuo, Liang Shih-ch'iu, Lao She, Wang Tung-chao, Shen Tsung-wen and Chen Meng-chia, resulted in Tsingtao University being characterized as a center of intense literary activity. As a result of this near feverish intellectual atmosphere, the University found itself in the midst of a student riot in 1932. This resulted in Yang being replaced by Chao T'ai-mao as the provisional president, and Wen I-tuo and Liang Shih-ch'iu departed to take up teaching posts at Tsinghua and Peking universities (both in Peking) respectively.

It was after this shakeup at Tsingtao that Yun-ho arrived, and apparently began using the name Li Ching-yun. Immediately she beseiged Chao T'ai-mo and persistently annoyed him until she was given a job in the University library. This characteristic of playing upon a person's patience until gaining what she wanted was one of the strongest traits in her personality. It is cited by many old acquaintances at every period in her life and it appears again and again in later chapters.

There is no record that Ching-yun ever actually studied at the university. Her major activities appear to have been confined to her work in the library and her attempts to ingratiate herself with Chao T'ai-mao's wife, Yu Shan. She became a frequent visitor to the Chao residence and in time did come to be known and liked by Yu Shan. It was through her that Ching-yun is said to have met a dashing young man of noble family background named Yu Ch'i-wei — Yu Shan's cousin. Yu was then a student at the university and was, like many of the young people there, actively involved in underground left-wing and Communist activity. He had joined the Chinese Communist Party

(CCP) in 1932.* From accounts related by acquaintances who knew Ching-yun at the time, she fell head over heels for the handsome Yu Ch'i-wei and began to be seen with him frequently. Before long she was living with him, enjoying not only his companionship but increasingly his ideology.** She joined the left-wing movie circle in Tsingtao, in part perhaps to please her lover.

The romance, however, was not destined to last. Yu Ch'i-wei found Ching-yun pleasant company and intellectually compatible. But he was not enthralled by her. She was simply one of his many encounters with the opposite sex and though she was not unattractive and was completely devoted to him, she could not compete with his other love: the Party and the Revolution. The same year they met, 1933, Yu Ch'i-wei departed for Peking. Although Yu gave the spirited Ching-yun a broken heart, he also gave her something that would eventually prove to be of sustaining value: her baptism into radical political thought that, 33 years later, would place her under the spotlight on the greatest stage of all, China itself.

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* Yu Ch'i-wei, nephew of the former Nationalist Chinese Defense Minister, Yu Ta-wei, later glorified himself as a member of the Chinese Communist Party using the Pseudonym Huang Ching. He was Minister of the 1st Ministry of Machine Building when he died in February 1958. His widow, Fan Chin, was the former managing editor of the *Peking Daily* and was involved in the notorious group that wrote the scathing series of articles attacking Mao's policies under the column "Notes of the Three-Family Village." She was purged during the Cultural Revolution.

** From reliable information currently available, this is the earliest known instance of Chiang Ch'ing having come into contact with the Communist movement. There is, however, one report that she first "joined in revolutionary activities" at the time of the "September 18 Incident", the Japanese occupation of Mukden in 1931. (*Canton Printing System Red Flag*, Canton, Oct. 29, 1967, in Survey of China Mainland Press, No. 4089, Dec. 29, 1967).

CHAPTER II
THE BRIGHT LIGHTS

In 1934 a movie director from Shanghai, Shih Tung-shan, went to Tsingtao on business and called on his old friends, Chao T'ai-mo and his wife Yu Shan. Inevitably, Yun-ho showed up at the Chao home sometime during Shih's visit and was thus introduced to him. She begged him to take her to Shanghai when he returned. Shanghai was China's Hollywood in the early 1930s, a raucous, free-wheeling city where fame and fortune could be found under bright lights. The "talkies" were taking hold and $3,500-budget films were making millionaires of producers and actors alike. The stage was calling her, Yun-ho must have thought, and she continued to pester Shih until he agreed to take her to Shanghai. When she arrived, it was no longer as Li Yun-ho or Li Ching-yun — the "big Miss Li" from Shantung — but Lan P'ing (Blue Duckweeds) the aspiring actress.

But the Shanghai film world was not entirely devoted to the quest for fame and fortune. Under the direct leadership of Ch'u Ch'iu-pai, one of the founding members of the Chinese Communist Party and at the time a Party

Central Committee member, the Alliance of Chinese Leftist Writers had established a Motion Picture Group. This Group brought together many left-wing writers and artists who devoted their efforts to creating a left-wing movie operation. While these men gave themselves to writing movie scripts for the Star, Lien Hua and I-hua Motion Picture companies, a Communist Party member, Szeto Hui-min, persuaded his capitalist brother to line up a few financial backers so the Alliance could have its own company. The Tien Tung Motion Picture Company was thus established, dedicated to producing only leftist movies. In addition, a Movie Critics Group was set up to publish reviews in Shanghai's newspapers praising Tien Tung films and criticising the more right-wing celluloid. It was to this company that Lan P'ing came, hired as a US$25.00 a month bit-part player.

Lan P'ing's success in the company was hardly overwhelming. She was simply background decoration in the movies she appeared in. She never played even a supporting role. She did, however, reap some satisfaction from her arrival in filmdom: a husband. A few months after she began working at Tien Tung, apparently some time in late 1934 or early 1935, she married a talented script writer, director and actor named Tang Na.*

In late 1935, the government closed down the Tien Tung Motion Picture Company. But with the help of her new husband, Lan P'ing was hired by the reorganized Lien Hua Company and again given small parts to play. She appeared in three movies in 1936 and 1937, according to *The Chinese Motion Picture Development History,* edited by Ch'eng Chi-hua, a professor of the Chinese Communist Peking Motion Picture Institute. In the film "Story of

* A native of Soochow, Kiangsu province, whose original name was Ma Chi-liang.

Blood Flowing on Lang Shan", she played a supporting role, the best she had had up to that time. The other stars of the movie were Li Li-li, Liu Ch'iung, and Chang-I, all accomplished and acclaimed performers. This was one of the so-called leftist "National Defense Films"* produced at the time of serious Japanese encroachments into China's territory. With regard to Lan P'ing's performance, *The Chinese Motion Picture Development History* says:

> Lan P'ing played the role of Liu San's wife. She had a correct grasp of the nature of the person. She not only revealed the modesty and sincerity of Liu San's wife as a country woman but also played fairly successfully the part of this person from her fear of the wolf to the beating of it after it had bitten her son, showing the awakening and growth of the person portrayed. Lan P'ing's acting won the praises of the director and also the appreciation of the audience.**

The following year, Lan P'ing played the leading role in a feature film entitled "Wang Lao Wu" (a bachelor), co-starring with Wang Tzu-lung, Han Lan-keng, and Yin Hsiu-chin. Lan P'ing's role was that of a poor young lady who earned a living by mending clothes, a shrewish termagant. She married the movie bachelor, Wang Tze-lung, and together they lived in unhappy and unabashed poverty.

* It is interesting that Chiang Ch'ing played in one of the films made under the Communist program of National Defense Literature put forth by former Deputy Director of the Party Propaganda Department, Chou Yang. Chou was savagely criticized during the Cultural Revolution and purged, in part, (according to the criticism), because of his National Defense Literature slogan.

** This quotation comes from page 473, Volume I of the first edition published by the Chinese Motion Picture Publishing House in 1963. How honest this review is is difficult to say for it was written in terms of the wife of Mao Tse-tung and not the obscure actress Lan P'ing, and at a time when Chiang Ch'ing was becoming increasingly active in cultural work. The book, *The Chinese Motion Picture Development History,* is now banned in China.

The role seemed to fit Lan P'ing's personality. Many who have seen the film say her performance was vivid. With the support of the two comedians, Han and Yin, the film became extremely popular, and even today many Chinese refer to bachelors as "Wang Lao Wu" because of that movie. This was, alas, the only film in which Lan P'ing was to play a leading role.

Following the film "Wang Lao Wu", she had a part in "Lien Hua's Symphony," a movie comprising four short feature films. Lan P'ing and Mei Hsi played in one of the shorts, "Twenty Cents," with Tsai Ch'u-sheng as script writer and Szeto Hui-min as director. Lan P'ing's acting won no acclaim.

On the eve of the outbreak of war with Japan, in July 1937, North China was under increasing military pressure and Kwangtung and Kwangsi (where there were local warlord revolts) were in a state of turmoil. Shanghai, geographically and psychologically caught between the two areas of most serious disturbances, was uneasy. An atmosphere of crisis prevailed, for if war broke out between China and Japan the city would surely be an early battleground. The movie industry in the city was on the brink of collapse. There was little work. Therefore several actors organized a Sparetime Experimental Drama Troupe. Lan P'ing joined this troupe through the help of various friends in the movie business.

The Troupe decided to perform the play "The Big Thunder Storm." Lan P'ing went after the prize role with a seeming vengeance. She began by trying to curry favor with Chang Min, director of the play.* In the process she won the contempt of the other members of the troupe. Her

* Chang Min later became a committee member of the National Literary and Arts Association after the Communists came to power.

colleagues avoided and ostricized her, but Lan P'ing went about with an air of disconcern. According to one member of the troupe who later moved to Hong Kong, all members lived a communal life and ate from the same dishes, all, that is, but Lan P'ing. She never shared a common meal with the others. Instead she ate alone in a separate room. The others in the troupe, according to this source, found Lan P'ing despicable and ruthless, a young lady who had "crossed the guarding line" a girl should observe by throwing herself at Chang Min to get what she wanted from him.

Others who eventually settled in Taiwan and Hong Kong also knew Lan P'ing during her movie days in Shanghai. After a lapse of 30 years, however, few of them could recall details about her, the impression being that no one paid much attention to her. Newspapers at the time published occasional pictures of her in movie and stage roles. In private she always dressed plainly, usually in a baggy, blue cheongsam of cheap material. One old acquaintance recalled: "She was probably the plainest actress in all of Shanghai." In her simple clothes, and with her strapping 32-24-34 figure, she was hardly the stuff that stars were made of. There were some strange contrasts in Lan P'ing's personality. With the troupe, she ate alone and carried herself with an air of superiority; yet she dressed simply and none too attractively; and still her ambition was large, for she once told a friend that she would be happiest if she could be Wang Ying, then Shanghai's biggest box-office attraction.

Lan P'ing's marriage to the writer and film critic Tang Na seemed to reflect that ambition. At the time they were both working for the Tien Tung Company, Tang Na was a widely read and respected critic. Perhaps Lan P'ing thought the marriage would be fortuitous for her career, for her subsequent behavior showed she had little affection

for him. In any case, they were married in a joint ceremony with Ch'ao Tan and Yeh Lu-si,* two other young people in the film business. It was not too long after the marriage, however, that she began to sleep with Chang Min in pursuit of the role in "The Big Thunder Storm." The marriage was soon on the rocks. Tang could not tolerate her flirtations and quarreled with her frequently. Although enraged, Tang, a native of Soochow where people are considered by Chinese to have deep, innate affection, did not ask for a divorce.

But Lan P'ing was finished with him, and to make the point clear she left for Tsinan without his knowledge. Learning of her departure, he followed her. But his effort to resolve their differences was wasted. In demonstration of his great love, Tang attempted suicide — with typical lack of success. As in the film business anywhere in the world, the suicide attempt captured headlines and attention in many areas of the country. Tabloid newspapers vied with each other to produce the juiciest details of "love-mad" Tang's attempted suicide. Lan P'ing, of course, benefited tremendously for her name was spread far and wide. She was approaching the point of becoming almost something of a celebrity.

Tang, having bungled even his last, dramatic demonstration of his love for Lan P'ing, became dejected and inactive for a while; then he went to Japan. On the outbreak of war, he went to Hong Kong to organize a theatrical troupe, and toured Southeast Asia. Later he is reported to have gone to Paris where he opened a restaurant. After the Cultural Revolution began, and Chiang Ch'ing came into prominence, he was beseiged for information about

* There is one report that the collective marriage involved six couples and took place in Hangchow, the lovely resort city near Shanghai.

her. Tang left Paris to avoid further hounding, reportedly fleeing to South America. For him, the relationship with Lan P'ing 30 years earlier had meant nothing but heartache. It is like the Chinese saying, "A fire at the city gate causes tragedy to the fish in the pond." Or according to Su Man-chu's theory on disastrous water,* it is not surprising that even after 30 years Tang's relationship with Chiang Ch'ing should return to haunt him.

The Japanese bombardment and attack on August 13, 1937, brought to reality the worst fears of the people in Shanghai. The city was in turmoil. China was at war with Japan and thousands of people began fleeing their homes. The left-wing movie circle, also finding it impossible to continue working in Shanghai, began making plans to move to the safer western portions of the country. Under the direction of the Shanghai Cultural Circle National Salvation Association — a Chinese Communist Party front organization — those who had been working for left-wing film companies were organized into 13 National Salvation Theatrical Troupes to go to the interior and propagate the "War of Resistance to Japanese Aggression." The Spare-time Experimental Drama Troupe, of which Lan P'ing was a part, was re-organized into the number three and four National Salvation Troupes.** These two teams left Shang-

* The "disastrous water" notion originates from Su Man-chu's novel *The Broken Hairpin*, in which he said: "All women in the world are disaster water", meaning that most disasters are caused by women. Su Man-chu was a poet, a novelist, a revolutionary, a monk, and a great lover, half Chinese and half Japanese, who was very famous at the beginning of the century.

** These troupes were ordered to tour the areas of fighting giving performances to bolster the morale of the soldiers. The number three and four troupes were under the direction of Yin Yun-wei, with Cheng Chun-li, Hsu Tao, Chen Li-ting, Ch'u Pai-yin, Ch'ao Tan, Ku Erh-yi and Wang Wei-i as members. *Motion Picture Development History*, Chinese Motion Picture Publishing House, Peking, 1963, Vol. II, p. 10.

hai in late August and early September, 1937.

Upon arrival in Nanking, Kiangsu Province, up the Yangtse River from Shanghai and the capital of the Nationalist government, some members of the two troupes broke off and headed for Wuhan and Chungking while another group headed to the Northwest and the Communist "capital" of Yenan in Shensi Province. The majority of the troupe members, including Lan P'ing, were directed by the Chinese Communist Party to cooperate with the Political Training Department of the Nationalist Military Affairs Commission. They were re-organized into two Anti-Enemy Theatrical Troupes and sent to Wuhan.*

Now that the Nationalists and Communists once again were cooperating, or ostensibly so, the Political Training Department of the Military Affairs Commission was re-organized and enlarged into a Political Department in February 1938 with Chen Cheng (Nationalist) as Director and Chou En-lai (Communist) as Deputy Director. The department, set up in Wuhan, was broken down into four divisions. On April 1, 1938, the Third Division, in charge of propaganda, was put under the charge of Kuo Mo-jo, who was later to become the President of the Academia Sinica and one of Communist China's leading men of letters. Yang Han-sheng was appointed Chief Secretary of the Division and T'ien Han became the head of its Sixth Section which was devoted to propaganda through the arts.** This division became the headquarters of the leftist movie and stage performers.

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* Eventually all 13 National Salvation Troupes were re-organized into 10 Anti-Enemy Theatrical Troupes. "Nationalist Dominated Area's Progressive Drama and Motion Picture Movement", by Yang Han-sheng in *The Commemorative Works of the All-China National Literary and Art Workers' Meeting*, Peking, 1950 edition, p. 254.

** Both Yang and T'ien Han were purged during the Cultural Revolution.

With the reorganization of the Political Training Department, the Hankow Studio which belonged to it became known as the Central Film Studio. The Central Movie Studio that was directly under the Propaganda Department of the Kuomintang Central Committee, but which had not functioned for a great length of time, resumed operation. All writers and movie directors in the National Salvation Theatrical Troupes from Shanghai were asked to remain in Wuhan and work for the two studios. Several actors and actresses also stayed rather than join the Anti-Enemy Theatrical Troupes. Members of the Shanghai group who joined the Central Film Studio included Yuan Mu-chih, Chen Po-erh, Yin Yun-wei, Cheng Chun-li, Shih Tung-shan, Shu Hsiu-wen, Wei Hou-ling, Li Li-li, and Chou Pai-hsun. Those who joined the Central Movie Studio were Shen Hsi-ling, Ch'ao Tan, Shih Chao, Ku Erh-yi, Sun Yu and Pai Yang. Lan P'ing, too, was assigned to this studio. While in Wuhan, the studios turned out a few documentary and very crude feature films.

It is an interesting sidelight to this period of her life that Lan P'ing ended up working for the Nationalist-controlled studio. Despite the surface cooperation, the Nationalist-Communist enmity spilled over into the movie world. The Central Movie Studio accepted some of the leftist artists but only for very pragmatic reasons. First, there was a great shortage of film talent. Second, it was a political gesture to create an image of cooperation. While with Central Movie, Lan P'ing played a part in the film "The Chinese Children," written and directed by Shen Hsi-ling. Shen had joined the studio in the summer of 1938 in Wuhan as a member of the Committee of Script Writers and Directors. Soon after he started filming "The Chinese Children." It took nearly one year to finish the film and it was shown to the public for the first time in

September 1939. The filming took place both in Wuhan and later in Chungking where the two studios were forced to move in September 1938, just before the fall of Wuhan in October of that year.

"The Chinese Children" was a collection of four short features which described how the Chinese of different social strata participated in the "War of Resistance." The prologue consisted of shots of scenic spots in Peking, Shanghai, Nanking, Hangchow, Tsingtao, Nanchang, Kweilin, and Kunming (most of these places were under Japanese control) as a means of arousing nationalistic feelings. This was followed by the four features, the first entitled "The Awakening of A Peasant." A young farmer, Liu Erh-ko (played by Ch'ao Tan) lived peacefully in Nanking with his wife, Liu Erh-sao (played by Lan P'ing), and his mother. Receiving the news that the Japanese army was approaching, all the farmers fled. Liu tried to persuade his mother and wife to escape and hide themselves behind a hill. The mother refused to leave the home, and Liu Erh-sao stayed on with her. A traitor named Wang Lao-yeh who had insulted and suppressed the people before the war was doing "pacification" work for the Japanese. He assured the peasants that the "Imperial Army' 'was benevolent. Patting his belly, he repeatedly expressed his willingness to guarantee the safety of the peasants. Some farmers accepted his pledge and stayed on. But Liu Erh-ko went into hiding. The enemy entered the village that night and after it left the following morning Liu returned home to find his wife had been sexually assaulted and was dead, his mother dying. He was enraged, and with tears in his eyes marched off to join the guerrillas fighting the Japanese.

This was typical of the films being churned out during that period. It was simple, but to an uneducated audience it made its point. To those in the film world, however,

what received more attention than the performances of Ch'ao Tan and Lan P'ing was the nature of their personal relationship. Gossip was rife that the roles of husband and wife they played in "The Chinese Children" were truly appropos. Lan P'ing, according to the rumors of the day, was living with Ch'ao Tan. It is possible that the story was nothing more than rumor. Wagging tongues about movie personalities were no less common in China than anywhere else.

Of the two studios — Central Movie and Central Film — the latter was considered the best, partly because it had the excellent talent that had come from Shanghai. When script writers, directors and actors were assigned to the two companies, the left-wing Central Film naturally took the best of its own people. Those who joined Central Movie were in effect subject to direction from the left-wing. During the period in Chungking, Central Movie produced three films: "Blood Flows in an Isolated City", "The Chinese Children" and "The Long Empty Sky." Lan P'ing played only in the second.

There is no way at present of knowing how Lan P'ing reacted to being left out of the last movie, "The Long Empty Sky." Some movie acquaintances of the day suggest she was infuriated not only with the movie's director, Sun Yu, but with Yang Han-sheng and T'ien Han who were then in charge of the movie enterprises. She is said to have been openly jealous of her colleagues, Pai Yang and Wang Jen-Mai, who won parts in the film. What made it more intolerable was that Sun Yu, Pai Yang and Wang Jen-mai frequently had been seconded to the Central Film Studio. They thus had a greater opportunity of making a name by acting for both companies. For these reasons, she decided she could no longer stay with Central Movie and began looking for another place. In Chungking there were only the two studios; one she had rejected and the

other had rejected her. With the Japanese occupying Peking, Shanghai and other major cities, the choice was indeed limited. But there was one possibility, in Shensi Province where the Communists had established two motion picture operations.

CHAPTER III
THE ROAD TO YENAN

The two left-wing motion picture enterprises in the Northwest were in Sian, the capital of Shensi, and in the Communist revolutionary headquarters in Yenan. When Yuan Mu-chih and Chen Po-erh were still filming "The 800 Strong Soldiers" for the Central Film Studio, Chou En-lai asked them to move to Yenan to start a motion picture industry. They agreed, and the film company in Yenan was set up in 1938. When the National Salvation Theatrical Troupe led by Sung Chih-ti reached Shansi Province in 1938, his group joined the Northwest Motion Picture Company — capitalized and established by Yen Hsi-shan.* That company then moved from Taiyuan, the capital of Shansi, to Sian. Even with the members of his troupe and the staff of the old Northwest company, Sung found he was short of personnel. He wrote to Yang Hansheng in Chungking and asked for additional workers. Yang sent Ch'u Pai-yin, Shen Fou and Ho Meng-fu. He did

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* The Nationalist Governor of Shansi Province, who later served as the Premier shortly before the Nationalist Government moved to Taiwan.

not send Lan P'ing. Finally with a full complement of workers, Sung set about shooting his first film for the company.

Lan P'ing must have been aware of these developments. In the summer of 1939, after the completion of the short feature film, "The Awakening of A Peasant" in the trilogy "The Chinese Children," Lan P'ing and an intimate friend nicknamed "Little Apple" went to Sian.* Their original destination was, clearly, Sian and not Yenan. Those in charge of the new film company in Yenan were Yuan Mu-chih and Chen Po-erh, both colleagues of Lan P'ing's during the days with the Tien Tung Company. Yuan and Chen had little regard for Lan P'ing's acting ability, and looked down upon her for her promiscuous behavior. Even if she and "Little Apple" had ventured to Yenan, Lan P'ing must have realized that there was little hope she would have been accepted by Yuan and Chen.

Sian and Sung Chih-ti, she must have thought, might be different. Sung was badly in need of additional workers. Her relationship with him in Shanghai had been brief but generally amiable. She could also impress him by showing her willingness to work in the more dangerous Northwest without having been assigned there. She might also have considered the Northwest an opportunity to get a better start since she would be free of the prejudice against her held by Yang Han-sheng and T'ien Han.

Nevertheless, her arrival in Sian was not at an auspicious moment. The Japanese army was firmly entrenched in neighboring southern Shansi Province. Sian, the western

* A source in Hong Kong recalled seeing Lan P'ing and "Little Apple" constantly together in Chungking. The source also said they were seen frequently visiting the home of a Nationalist General, Fu Li-ping, who was a native of Shantung Province. "Little Apple" did not follow Lan P'ing to Yenan. What became of her is unknown.

terminus of the Lunghai railway, was constantly on nerves edge with rumors that the Japanese were preparing an attack on the city. It was a logical target. The Japanese strategy was to seize China's major transportation and communication centers in an attempt to strangle the nation. Fearing the worst, the Northwest Motion Picture Company already was making plans to evacuate, and Sung had dispatched Wu Hsueh and Hsieh T'ien* to Chengtu in Szechuan Province to investigate the possibilities of carrying on the work there. Busy making arrangements for the impending move, Sung had little time for a second-rate actress like Lan P'ing. His problems were greater now than those of finding actors, artists, directors and script writers. It is possible, too, that Lan P'ing saw little reason to pursue the question of working for Sung, especially after she learned where he planned to move the company. Chengtu, the capital of Szechuan lying about 200 miles from Chungking, was well within the area of film-world influence wielded by Yang Han-sheng.

Despite the uneasiness in Sian, the battle lines in the Sino-Japanese war began to stabilize by the autumn of 1939. The ever-tenuous cooperation between the Communists and Nationalists was in reality little more than a facade. The antagonistic aspirations of the two lay not far below the surface, or as the Chinese aphorism has it, "though in the same bed, they were having different dreams." The Nationalists and Communists could not fight openly. They could match wits surreptiously, as they did in Sian.

The Red 18th Army Group Office in Sian began to

* Wu Hsueh was a leftist actor (stage plays) in Szechuan during the Sino-Japanese War. Before the Cultural Revolution, he was the Deputy Director (and the Secretary of the CCP Committee) of the Chinese Youth Artistic Drama Academy. Hsieh T'ien was a movie actor during the war; before the Cultural Revolution he was a senior Director of the Peking Movie Studio.

step up its activities in 1939, expanding its organizational reach and actively wooing young intellectuals, especially those in literary and art circles. The 18th Army Group, appealing to the nationalistic feelings of the young students, enticed them to go to Yenan to help in the propaganda war against the Japanese. Lan P'ing had little difficulty in being accepted by the 18th Army Group recruiters and left for Yenan. Why Lan P'ing decided to risk Yenan and the condescension of Yuan Mu-chih and Chen Po-erh is still open to question. Whether she felt there was no other choice, or whether she was driven by the intense feelings of nationalism that characterized the times is a matter for future biographers to ponder.

It is necessary to digress for a moment and explore the date that Lan P'ing reached Yenan. There long has been disagreement on this question, and unfortunately no official Chinese Communist publication has given an exact date for her arrival in the revolutionary headquarters of the Communists. Some writers have claimed that Lan P'ing went directly from Shanghai or Nanking to Yenan in 1937; others say she went from Wuhan or Chungking in 1938.* At least one former Communist who lived in Yenan claimed to have seen her there in 1938 or before. It is tempting to accept the account, yet it does not square with other and more documented information. After 30 years, memories can fail or one person can be confused for another. In view of the fact that *The Chinese Motion Picture Development History* mentioned the filming of "The Chinese Children" in Chungking in 1939, and reproduces a photograph of Lan P'ing taken with her co-star, Ch'ao Tan, as

* *Who's Who In Communist China,* Taiwan, August 1967, op. cit., says she announced that she was going to Tsinan to see relatives, but in fact went to Yenan directly from Shanghai. No date is given. But the same account says she and Mao were married in 1938.

well as stating that she joined the Central Movie Studio as an old member of the Sparetime Experimental Drama Troupe, the authors have concluded that she could not have been in Yenan in 1937 or 1938.* The best calculation available from existing information is that she arrived in the Communist capital in late autumn or early winter of 1939.

When Lan P'ing reached Yenan, a Chinese Communist motion picture enterprise already was functioning. In September 1938, after the director-actor Yuan Mu-chih and the lovely star Chen Po-erh had come to Yenan at Chou En-lai's invitation, the Yenan Motion Picture Group was founded. This Group actually was little more than a collection of cameramen and performers. There was no movie studio, however loosely that term is used. The Group was placed under the direct control of the General Political Department of the Eighth Route Army. In charge, apart from Yuan and Chen, were two cameramen named Wu Yen-hsien and Hsu Hsiao-p'ing.

The Communist Party leadership, in its determined campaign to carry on the struggle against the Nationalists, adopted a policy of publicizing Yenan as the mecca of the "War of Resistance Against Japan." To that end, the Yenan Motion Picture Group's first film was a documentary entitled "Yenan and the Eighth Route Army." It was, by available accounts, a fairly good documentary. The camera crews and actors plodded up mountains, sloshed through streams and ducked Japanese bullets to film the Eighth

* There is no apparent reason for the author of *The Chinese Motion Picture Development History,* Chen Chi-hua, to have forged the account of Lan P'ing's role in "The Chinese Children." He edited the book as his teaching material for the Motion Picture Institute. The materials on which it was based included the files of the Central Movie Studio, and newspapers and magazines of that time, and, presumably, other documents held by Peking.

Route Army troops in action against the background of "liberated areas" and "liberated peasants."

With the Yenan Motion Picture Group devoting its energies and meagre movie equipment to the filming of documentaries and newsreels, there was no requirement for female actors. So Chen Po-erh rested in Yenan, weak with tuberculosis. Later she led a group of women making a tour of villages in Shensi. In 1940 she entered the Institute of Marxism-Leninism, which later changed its name to the Party School of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party.

Chen Po-erh seems to have had a significant influence on the ambitious Lan P'ing. Five years older, Chen's beauty and wit far exceeded that of Lan P'ing. In Shanghai Chen Po-erh starred in such well-received films as "The Plunder of Peach and Plums" and "One Heart in Life and Death." She was, furthermore, the pillar of the Tien Tung Movie Company. There was another reason, too, that Lan P'ing must have been envious of Chen Po-erh. In 1937 Chen joined the Party, the first left-wing actress or actor to become a Party member. Now, in Yenan, Chen was held in high esteem not only for her acting ability and early Party membership, but also because the talented Yuan Mu-chih — not a Party member — was her devoted lover.*

Lan P'ing still had not joined the Party by the time

* It was not until 1940 that Yuan joined the Chinese Communist Party. In 1942 he was sent to Moscow to pursue a higher education. After he returned in 1946, Yuan was appointed as the superintendent of the Northeast Motion Picture Studio, the first full-fledged Communist film studio. Chen Po-erh served as his assistant and as the Party branch secretary. After the Communists seized Peking, the Propaganda Department of the Party Central Committee established the Central Motion Picture Administrative Bureau. Later the Bureau was transferred to the Ministry of Culture. Yuan served as Director from the start, and Chen Po-erh also worked in the Bureau.

she arrived,* she had no standing with the Party and could not win admission to the prestigous Party school like the leading ladies of Yenan — Chen and the brilliant novelist and long-standing Party member Ting Ling. The standing rule was that no one would be admitted into the Party School unless he or she was a cadre above the rank of a county Party committee member or a regimental commander. Ting Ling and Chen Po-erh were given special permission to enter the school. Also, Lan P'ing's acting abilities were unlikely to carry her far. There were few people in Yenan she knew, and of those she did know more were enemies than friends.

* When Lan P'ing joined the Central Movie Studio in Wuhan in 1938, she had not been at that time admitted into the Party. *The Chinese Motion Picture Development History* made a clear distinction between a Party member and a non-Party member. A Party member was referred to as a "Party's movie player" and the non-Party member as a "progressive movie player." Lan P'ing's title was the latter. It is unlikely, in fact, that Lan P'ing joined the Party until a year or two after her arrival in Yenan, say in 1941 or 1942. According to *Who's Who in Communist China* published in Taiwan, Chiang Ch'ing joined the Party in 1931 in Tientsin. This was attributed to a statement by Ch'en Po-ta on July 24, 1966. We have not seen this statement nor any report on it; furthermore, there is nothing in the information currently available to substantiate this report. The only material which more or less supports this report is the first paragraph in "Brief Introduction of Comrade Chiang Ch'ing" published in *Canton Printing System Red Flag,* Oct. 29, 1967 (SCMP No. 4089), which says: "Comrade Chiang Ch'ing joined in the revolution at the time of the 'September 18' incident. She was introduced into the Party by Comrade K'ang Sheng." It should be noted that the expression "joining in the revolution" is extremely ambiguous. At the time of the 'September 18' incident of 1931, when the Japanese occupied Manchuria, most Chinese were aroused and could be said to have "joined in the revolution". Chiang Ch'ing was then only seventeen, and a student of the Shantung Provincial Experimental Drama Academy in Tsinan. There is no evidence of her presence in Tientsin in 1931 or 1932. Furthermore, K'ang Sheng was in Moscow from 1930 to 1933; thus he could not have introduced Chiang Ch'ing into the Party during that period. Therefore we contend that she did not first join the party until after her arrival in Yenan in late 1939.

Her arrival in Yenan brought Lan P'ing to a major crossroad. She was not invited to join the Yenan Motion Picture Group nor was she asked to attend the Party School. For whatever reason, and the reason remains obscure, she apparently rejected the idea of attending the University for Women. All the students of the Anti-Japanese University were military people. Where was she to turn? She went to the one man of high position in Yenan who might help — K'ang Sheng,* a native of her own Chucheng County in Shantung Province, and, as is the case with Chinese, a man who was thus somewhat obligated to offer assistance. At the time, K'ang Sheng was the head of the Communist Secret Police. At his suggestion, she entered the Lu Hsun Art Institute.**

The Lu Hsun Art Institute was the center for training propaganda teams sent out to various parts of the country by the CCP. It was established in 1938, with Sha K'o-fu, Chao Yi-min, Wu Yu-chang and Chou Yang serving successively as President. Wu Yu-chang left the post in 1940, and Chou Yang, who had been Vice President, took over as Acting President and became President the following year. The Institute had four departments — literature, drama, the arts and music, as well as an art performers' troupe, an arts research section and an arts goods factory.

* It is significant that K'ang Sheng emerged during the Cultural Revolution as one of the top 10 most powerful men in China, a man Chiang Ch'ing referred to affectionately as Lao K'ang (old K'ang). Despite the fact that he was a member of the Committee of Five in charge of the Cultural Revolution in its earliest period, a committee headed by P'eng Chen and subsequently denounced by Mao, he emerged totally unscathed. It is not unreasonable to suggest that his early assistance to Chiang Ch'ing led to the protection he seemingly received during the course of the Cultural Revolution.

** Lu Hsun was the first modern Chinese writer to throw out the old forms of literary expression and to write in the vernacular. He is now hailed by Chinese Communists as a great revolutionary.

Almost all of the writers and artists who were in Yenan served as teachers in the institute.* The most prominent were Ting Ling, Ai Ching, Hsiao Chun, Hsiao San, Ho Chi-fang, Li Kuang-tien, Kuang Wei-jan (Chang Kuang-nien), Chang Keng, Lu Chi, Chiang Feng, Ko Chung-ping, Chou Li-po, and Chen Huang-mei. Lan P'ing's position at the Institute was assured only because of K'ang Sheng's intervention. Her work consisted mainly of directing rehearsals of the art performers' troupe. She was not entirely unfamiliar with this kind of work, though she had some difficulty, according to those who knew her at the time, in directing others in acting technique. More to the point, Lan P'ing was — as in her earliest movies — more decoration than a substantial contributor to the actual work involved. Those who actually directed the troupe were Ho Ching-chih, Li Po, Wang Ta-hua and Chang Shui-hua.

The Lu Hsun Art Institute's art performers' troupe was engaged mainly in producing foreign-style productions. These productions emphasized background scenes and characterizations. They called for excellent script-writing and direction, two requirements far beyond the experience and ability of Lan P'ing. From information supplied by acquaintances of hers at the time, Lan P'ing spent most of her time making critical suggestions involving the work prepared by others. At one public performance, one source related, she was "encouraged" to take the stage and give a demonstration of how a particular role might be performed. She jumped at the invitation, for at these performances the Party big-wigs were usually in the audience. On this occasion, her demonstration involved the leading

* *Arts Education in Liberated Areas,* by Ai Ching, Peking, July 1949, report on the first meeting of delegates of the National Literary Association.

role in the play "The Assaulted Person." Her reward was dead silence from the unreceptive audience.*

* Once source recalls that at public performances Chiang Ch'ing would invariably get as close to the stage as possible. Usually the first two or three rows were reserved for the Party leaders. She would plop herself down directly behind them and express rather loudly her "haos" and "pu haos" (good and bad) at various points during a performance, obviously (in fact too obviously) an attempt to attract the attention of the Party leaders.

CHAPTER IV
ANOTHER LOVER

Although she made little headway in her attempt to resume her movie career in Yenan, Lan P'ing found solace in love. In this case the affair involved Hsu I-hsin, the Director of Training at the Lu Hsun Art Institute. Hsu was 10 years older than Lan P'ing. He was a refined gentleman, well-mannered and fairly-well educated. As Director of Training at the Institute he was a man of relatively high position, participating in the administration of the Institute.* Lan P'ing and Hsu were soon seen frequently together and openly displayed their affection for each other.

In Yenan in those days the ratio of men to women was 18 to one. As a result, many young men experienced difficulty in finding female companionship. Most of the female teachers and staff members as well as young girls still studying at the Lu Hsun Art Institute were "ear-

* After the Communist takeover, Hsu was transferred to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. He was made a Vice Minister of Foreign Affairs and during the 50's and 60's served as ambassador to Albania, Norway and Syria. At the time of the Cultural Revolution he was still a Vice Minister of Foreign Affairs.

marked." That is to say, they had been "claimed" by influential people. The middle and lower-grade people were left with virtually no opportunity to meet the young ladies of Yenan. To a large degree, because of the imbalance of the sexes, promiscuity was accepted; old-timers of that day readily admit this now, looking back on it as much with a chuckle as a frown. In any case, for the young ladies involved the choice was well-defined: either chose one man of influence and authority upon whom to shower one's affections, or accept the permissive trend that prevailed. If the young ladies of Yenan tried to remain aloof, they would be accused of being feudalistic in outlook. On the other hand, to find a suitable companion (suitable meaning high-ranking enough to enjoy priority for material provisions) was not an easy task.*

Lan P'ing was not blind to this situation. By settling in with Hsu I-hsin she could not compare herself with

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* In Yenan there were "three ranks in clothing and five in food," as the local saying had it. This meant simply that there were distinctions one could expect, particularly in terms of who one married. If a girl married an ordinary cadre, she might find it difficult to maintain even her limited living standard after the birth of her first child. On March 9, 1942, the famous authoress Ting Ling published an article entitled "Impressions on March Eighth Festival" in Yenan's *Liberation Daily*. The article touched on some of the problems of the women of Yenan. "Marriages of women comrades," she wrote, "will forever attract people's attention but will never give people satisfaction . . . Cartoonists will ask satirically, 'She would marry a low cadre like a department chief?' Poets say, 'In Yenan there are only horse riders who can rise to the top; artists will never become high ranking officers. Artists in Yenan can never get good-looking girls.' On the other hand, women in Yenan could hear these words on occasion: 'Damn them all! They dispise us old cadres, calling us mud dumplings. Without us mud dumplings how could you come to Yenan to eat fine grain.'" Artists, in other words, found that because of their less important positions it was difficult to attract the young ladies; the higher ranking officials felt — however justifiably — that the young ladies often overlooked or neglected them. More than anything these passages reflect the problems revolving around relations between the sexes during the Yenan period.

those attached to the really high-ranking officials, but she was certainly better off than those who had married or moved in with powerless men. Hsu, in fact, shone above many, for not only was he a cadre of some rank, but he was a rather dashing chap as well. As the old saying has it, "Is there any girl who does not dream of her handsome hero?"

While Hsu I-hsin and Lan P'ing were still living together, Mao Tse-tung visited the Lu Hsun Art Institute one day to address the students. It is generally known that Mao lectured at the Party School and the Anti-Japanese University, but it is not so well known that he also on two or three occasions spoke at the Institute. The Party attached considerable weight to the power of the pen. It was not surprising that Mao on a few occasions visited the Institute, which in effect was an army school of literature and art. Mao saw himself as somewhat of an expert on literary affairs. He often appeared with well-known writers, such as Ting Ling. He frequently spoke on the orientation of literature and art, and his "Talks" at the Yenan Forum on Literature and Art later became the basis for creating a Communist Culture. It would have been striking indeed had he not on occasion spoken at the Lu Hsun Art Institute.

This particular visit of Mao's was probably in early 1940. Unfortunately no precise date is available. In any case, the occasion was made an important event because Mao, the highest leader, rarely visited the Institute. Mao's arrival was preceded by special preparations. Listening to his talk were not only all the teachers and students of the Institute but also ranking cadres from other organizations. Lan P'ing took the occasion as the best opportunity to distinguish herself. She must have thought that if she made a good impression on the Party Chairman it would help her advance and improve her standing in Yenan.

Whatever her thinking, she appeared at the hall where Mao would speak in an attractive if none too elegant dress and heavily made up. True to form, she seated herself directly in front of Mao. During his speech she applauded profusely, nodded agreement with his remarks and took copious notes. After Mao concluded his speech, Lan P'ing — "to the astonishment of the audience," as one source put it — rose and asked Mao a question. Mao duly answered and then praised her for being diligent and inquisitive. She had accomplished her goal of attracting Mao's notice.

Mao was living alone at that time. His wife, Ho Tzu-chen, had been sent to Moscow for medical treatment of a nervous breakdown following the breakup of their marriage.* Ho was Mao's second wife.** His first was Yang K'ai-hui, daughter of Yang Ch'ang-chi, teacher of ethics and one of the two men who left a mark on Mao during his days at the Changsha First Normal School. He married Yang K'ai-hui in the winter of 1920. She and Mao's younger sister, Mao Tse-hung, were executed by the Kuomintang in July 1930 in Changsha.*** According to some

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* Again there are differing accounts on Mao's marital status when he became interested in Chiang Ch'ing. One widely publicized version has it that Ho Tze-chen was still in Yenan when Mao became attracted to Chiang Ch'ing. She is said to have appealed to the senior leaders of the Party to intervene. A compromise was said to have been worked out, whereby Ho would go to Moscow and Chiang Ch'ing, though living with Mao, would not become politically or publicly active. Several sources in Yenan at the time, however, insist that Ho Tze-chen already was in the Soviet Union when Chiang Ch'ing arrived on the scene. Their account is used here.

** Mao apparently was betrothed to a peasant girl when he was still a teenager but was never married to her.

*** It seems evident that of Mao's three wives, Yang was the one for whom he held the deepest affection. Stuart Schram in his biography *Mao Tse-tung* (Penguin Books, England, 1966) reproduces a poem Mao wrote in 1957 in reply to a poem sent him by Li Shu-i in memory of her husband, Liu Chih-hsun, killed in 1933. The poem describes the deep feelings Mao still had for his first wife even in 1957.

reports Mao began living with Ho Tzu-chen in 1928, even before Yang Kai-hui's death. It was not until after 1930 that they married. Ho, the daughter of a landlord, had joined the Party in 1927 and led a women's detachment during the Nanchang Uprising. She also was one of the few women to make the historic Long March, and likely was the only pregnant woman to do so. During her years with Mao, in fact, she bore him five children including the one born during the trek to the Northwest. All of them are reported to have been left with peasants at various points along the zig-zagging course of the Long March. After that epic journey over 6,000 rugged miles, Ho was a physical wreck, appearing decrepit beyond her years. Mao lost interest in her.

At the time of his encounter with Lan P'ing, Mao was about 46 and obviously enjoyed the vigor he still had. Mao must have taken more than nominal interest in Lan P'ing when he first saw her. She was not beautiful, nor was she unattractive. She had large eyes, double eye-lids, fair skin and a tall and fine body — qualities that had attracted others before Mao. Furthermore, she was a fully matured young woman and one who had been a movie actress; she was, in effect, a suitable physical and intellectual companion, especially since Mao's pet interest was literature and the arts. As the Chinese say, she was like a stork standing among the chickens compared to most of the women cadres in Yenan. The others, in their worn Lenin-style tunics and with their coarse hands and feet were, even if more proletarian, certainly less appealing.

Yet there is nothing to indicate that Lan P'ing was interested in Mao at that time except in terms of her ambitious aspirations. For companionship she was attached to Hsu I-hsin. Their relationship had only started to blossom. More to the point, Mao and Ho Tzu-chen had

not been officially divorced, and Mao was to some extent a fearsome dictator in Yenan. He was also 20 years older than Lan P'ing. Under such circumstances, it would have been surprising indeed had Lan P'ing had eyes for the Chairman.

After Mao's talk at the Lu Hsun Art Institute, nevertheless, Lan P'ing went to Tsao Yuan* under the pretext of discussing certain ideological problems with the Chairman. Precisely at the time she was coming into greater contact with Mao, the beautiful Sun Wei-shih returned from Moscow and was assigned to the Lu Hsun Art Institute to work. Sun overshadowed Lan P'ing with her beauty, grace, learning and manner. Hsu I-hsin fell in love with Sun at first sight.

After this Hsu began to drift away from Lan P'ing and was in full pursuit of the lovely Miss Sun. His pursuit was rewarded with the catch. Hsu and Sun were married within months of their first meeting. Sun was an artist who gained some recognition during her day. After the Communist takeover, she became a director at the Central Drama Institute and again achieved modest fame. For Lan P'ing, the loss of Hsu was another bitter blow reminiscent of her lost love in Shantung. In justice and retribution, Lan P'ing who deserted Tang Na was now deserted by Hsu I-hsin. It was a fateful development, for now she was free to join the man of her destiny, Mao Tse-tung.

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* Tsao Yuan, or Garden of Date Trees, was the place where Mao resided in Yenan.

CHAPTER V
AND THEN IT WAS MAO

It seems evident that Mao Tse-tung had taken more than a passing interest in the rather forward young lady who rose to question him following his speech at the Lu Hsun Art Institute. Though his interest might well have faded rapidly had he had no other contact with her, the visits Lan P'ing made to Tsao Yuan appear to have sealed the fate on their relationship. Having been scorned by Hsu I-hsin, Lan P'ing was frustrated with love, and burning inside with jealousy. How better to show up Hsu I-hsin and his lovely Sun Wei-shih than through a bit of oneupmanship.

Though Mao was in all likelihood attracted to Lan P'ing when he first noticed her, it was not easy for a man of his stature to pursue the matter too openly. He was, surely, aware of her relationship with Hsu. But Mao was not a man to give up lightly, especially if he had set his sights on a goal. Acquaintances at the time believe that at least after Lan P'ing's first visit to Tsao Yuan, Mao had made up his mind that he wanted her. He was not rash by nature, however, and the evidence available indicates

that he moved cautiously, though with deliberation. Although, as Mao's poem says, "There are many things which are always so urgent," Mao had prided himself on "never fighting a battle without being sure of victory." He would not take such a risk in battle; nor did he with Lan P'ing.

After Hsu had deserted her she began to visit Mao's cave more frequently. This gave Mao an opportunity to give full play to his tactics. Exact dates are impossible to pin down, but in the summer of 1940 her regular visits to Tsao Yuan reached a climax when she failed to return to the Institute one night. Rumors, as was the nature of Yenan, rapidly filled the place about "Mao's new woman." One of those rumors was that Lan P'ing's cohabitation with Mao was not just a chance affair between the two. Chou Yang, then President of the Institute and a leading literary figure, was said to have offered her to Mao. Lan P'ing's romance with Hsu I-hsin was said to have been deliberately staged so as to raise her status and make her eventually suitable for Mao. But this was simply a rumor and there is nothing to suggest it was more than that.*

The talk, the idle and even malicious gossip, reached embarrassing heights for all concerned. Mao still was married to Ho, and many of those who shared the bitterness of the Long March with her could hardly sympathize with the young starlet who had managed to maneuver her way into Mao's cave and k'ang (the Chinese clay bed). Lan P'ing, obviously, could not stay on at the Institute now; quickly she was transferred to the Central Military

* In fact, there is evidence to the contrary. It would be surprising indeed if Chou Yang had been the man responsible for bringing Mao and Chiang Ch'ing together, for during the Cultural Revolution he was a target of severe abuse. The person who directed the spearhead at Chou Yang was none other than Chiang Ch'ing.

Commission to look after its archives.* From then on she no longer mingled with the other young people at Yenan, and especially not with the young men.

Instead she spent most of her time with Mao, usually in his cave. They seemed to enjoy each other's companionship. In his public countenance Mao was considered stern, serious and driven. In private he could be humorous and easy-going, and so he apparently was with Lan P'ing. With his prestige and position he also was able to lavish on her the material well-being that his stature demanded: good food and drink, bodyguards, and the like. Lan P'ing had moved into his cave for good, though still carrying the outward appearance of a cadre.

It seems likely that Lan P'ing had completed all the procedures for joining the Party before she went to the Military Commission to work in the archives. Exactly when she joined the Party remains one of those enigmatic questions about her background. But it must have been some time around this period, for she began to be known as Chiang Ch'ing after her arrival at the Military Commission. This name is assumed to be her Party name, and there are many who believe Mao gave it to her. The Chinese Communist Party at that time encouraged its members to change their names in order to protect their relatives in Nationalist-controlled areas. In addition, there is every reason why she might have wanted to change her name. Lan P'ing, afterall, was a name connected with a somewhat less than glorious period in her life.

A digression is necessary here, in connection with her

* It has even been suggested by some Chinese observers that Mao and Chiang Ch'ing hit it off in part because they both worked at one time in libraries: Mao at Peking University and Chiang Ch'ing at Tsingtao University. Also it has been offered that her transfer to the archives of the Central Military Commission resulted from this earlier library training.

new name. Names in Chinese frequently carry with them certain meanings that relate to famous sayings, poems, literary works or simply good fortune. The word *chiang* means "river", and is a rather common surname. The word *ch'ing* denotes a color which may vary widely from blue, as in blue sky, to black, as in black cloth. It is also often used to denote green, as in green hills or green grass. *Chiang ch'ing* together means literally "river green" or "green river"; but it probably originates from the famous concluding couplet of the Tang Dynasty poet Chien Ch'i's poem entitled "The Spirit of Hsiang River Plays the Lute." The couplet, much celebrated for its beauty and serenity, reads in translation:

The melody fades away and there is no one to be seen;
A few distant peaks over the river look green.

The poem here refers to a legend about the ancient Emperor Shun who married the two daughters of his predecessor, Emperor Yao. Shun died at a place called Ts'ang Wu while on an inspection tour to the south. When the two empresses heard of the tragedy, they drowned themselves in the Hsiang River, and were regarded as the Spirit of Hsiang River.

Thus it is not unlikely that when Mao gave Chiang Ch'ing her new name, he was comparing her in a subtle way to the Spirit of Hsiang River, and himself to Emperor Shun.

However, the game of subtle poetic allusion can be played by others as well. Thus the September 1962 issue of *Peking Arts* published a poem by Teng T'o, a leading intellectual in the Communist Party who served for many years as Chief Editor of *People's Daily* in Peking and became one of Mao's severest critics following the Great Leap fiasco in 1958-59. The poem is an inscription on a painting entitled "The Sea of Clouds," but actually makes

analogical reference to Mao and his policies in relation to Chiang Ch'ing and Chien Ch'i's couplet. The poem reads:

A miracle is seen in the boundless vast sky;
Floating clouds in the sky embrace red flags.
Mountains beyond the sea show the far distance for the giant bird;
The message of Spring comes late to the garden of the fairies.
Yangtze Gorges and Ts'ang Wu are seen in one glance;
The Queen of Hsiang River and Goddess of Gorges break into smiles.
Those aloft should understand there is a drought on earth;
And should not make such little rain over the countryside.

In order to have a proper interpretation of this poem, which was cited in 1966 as a major piece of evidence to incriminate Teng T'o as an anti-Maoist villain*, it is necessary to make a few explanations. First, the allusion to "the Goddess of Yangtze Gorges" refers to another legend. It is said that when the King of Chu made a trip to the Yangtze Gorges, he had a dream. A beautiful goddess came to him and offered herself to him. Afterwards the King asked her who she was. She said that she was the clouds in the morning and the rains in the evening. Thus the men-of-letters in China have often referred to sexual intercourse as *"yun yu"*, or "cloud-rain", and often referred to prostitutes as "goddesses of the Gorges", or simply "goddesses"**. Second, the Hsiang River is a major river in Hunan Province. This is why Hunan Province is abbriviated as "Hsiang". Mao Tse-tung

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* *People's Daily*, Peking, May 20, 1966.

** The Chinese term in this sense is *shen-nu*. It must be strictly distinguished from the term *nu-shen* which means "goddess" in its regular sense and can never be used to indicate a prostitute.

is a native of Hunan.

Thus, we may make a highly liberal interpretation of Teng T'o's poem: A miracle is said to have been performed, but it is actually a pie in the sky. Mao's policy of the 'Three Red Flags'* is based on floating clouds. There is still a long way to go before achieving national reconstruction; yet this realization has come very late to the top leader who seems to be playing around in a garden of fairies. He tends to see the country with only a glance from above, and Chiang Ch'ing, the Queen who has been a lady of easy virtue, is breaking into smiles because she is gaining power after long years of frustrated ambition. Those at the top should understand that the common people are suffering from poverty and oppression and should not continue to torture them with high-handed policies.

That Chiang Ch'ing was moving into a position of greater authority at the time this poem was published is clear. On May 10, 1967, the magazine *Red Flag*, the *People's Daily* and the *Liberation Army Daily* simultaneously published Chiang Ch'ing's "Talk on the Revolution of Peking Opera" in which she said, "I had gone to the stages for two years in a systematic manner." The speech originally was made on June 23, 1964, at the forum of performers attending the Festival of Peking Opera on Contemporary Themes. Going back two years from the date of her speech, one finds that she began to reassert herself in literary and artistic affairs just prior to the writing of Teng T'o's inscription. The connection is too close.

By Autumn, 1940, the cohabitation of Mao and Chiang Ch'ing was an open secret. Chiang Ch'ing's expanding waist line could scarcely be concealed, even under the loose

* Mao's policy during the Great Leap Forward period, referring to: The General Line for Socialist Construction, the Great Leap Forward and the People's Communes.

tunics popular in Yenan. There was much amused merriment over the young lady's problem, though most tried to swallow their laughter when she was around. To Mao it was a thing of no extraordinary significance or embarrassment; his subordinates were accustomed to his extra-Party activities and in any case she was his woman by common law if not Party pleasure. It was, however, probably an embarrassment to Chiang Ch'ing who felt among other things the supersensitivity that many women feel with their first pregnancy. And she seems to have been disturbed by another problem: what to do with the child if her relationship with Mao were not officially announced before its arrival.* To that problem she supplied her own solution.

According to sources who claim to have been present on the occasion, Chiang Ch'ing barged into a meeting of high-ranking officials one day and announced: "I have good news to report to you. The Chairman (Mao) and I have started living together." However comic that might have seemed as she stood there in the evident growth of motherhood, no one laughed or even chuckled. Some smiled politely; most remained silent and slightly stunned by her impudence. Mao himself was somewhat embarrassed, but there was nothing he could say. Those attending the meeting included Lin Po-chu, K'ang Sheng, Chen Yun, Chu Teh, Jen Pi-shih, Ho Kai-feng, Lu Ting-i, and Lo Mai.** All were close associates of Mao, but most of

* The possibility of resolving the problem by abortion was, in fact, no possibility at all. In other circumstances it could have been done. But with Mao the situation was different. He would never have consented to it, and it seems fair to say that Chiang Ch'ing also probably wanted the child. In any case, what doctor in Yenan would have dared perform the operation.

** These were the principal leaders in Yenan at the time. Liu Shao-ch'i and Chou En-lai were absent from Yenan, and the military commanders like P'eng Teh-huai and Lin Piao were stationed with their units.

them disapproved of his living with this young actress. Perhaps the only man who smiled cordial approval was K'ang Sheng, the fellow native of Chucheng county, Chiang Ch'ing's birthplace.

From that day, Chiang Ch'ing no longer was the keeper of the archives and the Chairman's unofficial mistress; she was the first lady of the Communist movement, Mao's revolutionary concubine. Passing her days in a comfort she had not known before, assured of her future by the child stirring in her abdomen, Chiang Ch'ing must have been elated. Toward the end of spring in 1941, she gave birth to a girl. The baby, given the name Li Na (李納),* delighted Mao, and he pranced around Yenan proudly announcing the arrival and seeking backpats of congratulations.

In Yenan at that time, children could take the surname of either the father or the mother. This was meant, in part, to show the new equality of the sexes being promoted by the Communists. Chiang Ch'ing gave birth to two children by Mao. The first took her maiden name Li — or rather the name she used after becoming a ward of her maternal grandfather. The second child, also a daughter, was called Mao Mao, in deference to the father. Naming the first child "Li" suggests Chiang Ch'ing did not

* According to available information, the first daughter was named Li Na (李納). There have been other reports that she was named Lee La (麗拉) and Lee Nah (麗娜). These names, however, appear to have resulted from misunderstandings due to phonetic similarity. Another interesting point about the name of the first child is that the Na (納) reminds one of Chiang Ch'ing's first, albeit abandoned, husband, Tang Na (唐納). There was one report that the daughter's name was changed to Li Nah (李娜) when Chiang Ch'ing's sentimental touch in the original naming was realized. There is evidence now, however, that this report was erroneous. A Red Guard publication, *Industries and Communication Red Flag*, Oct. 12, 1967, reported: "The daughter of Chairman Mao, Comrade Li Na (李納), led a work team to Peking University for an investigation."

give up her adopted family name. It is thus possible that on her Party membership identity card she was listed as Li Yun-ho and that Chiang Ch'ing was simply her pseudonym. This was not an uncommon practice; many in Yenan used pseudonyms. Li Wei-han, for instance, was known as Lo Mai, Chao Yun as K'ang Sheng, Chen Shao-yu as Wang Ming, Chin Pang-hsien as Po Ku, Chang Wen-tien as Lo Fu.

To many Chinese at that time, the union of Mao and Chiang Ch'ing could not have been based on love. This view derived from the fact that they were far apart in age, and that the Chiang Ch'ing's earlier lovers had all been handsome young men. To Mao, the Chinese assessment ran, Chiang Ch'ing was nothing but "a concubine in red sleeves who tended the incense while one read books." To Chiang, Mao was simply a means for her to achieve prominence and glory and the material advantages she desired. He would also serve as the springboard from which she could seize and then wield power. To many of the victims of the Cultural Revolution, this assessment of a quarter of a century ago might well seem painfully accurate.

After the arrival of the first child, Chiang Ch'ing wasted little time in tossing aside the uncomplimentary tunics she had been wearing both to preserve her dignity and to remain in accord with the fashion of the times. She slid quickly into the role of the Chairman's wife, after the birth of the child, appearing in fine dresses at dance parties, stage performances, music festivals and exhibitions. On such occasions she was always the best dressed; the other ladies of Yenan hid their contempt behind compliments laced with scarcely concealed glowers. To many of the veteran cadres, however, her display of well-being ran counter to the simplistic life the Communists fostered and they could hardly remain silent. When Mao and the other

leaders appeared at public gatherings they often showed up in rather simple, sometimes frayed garments, in an attempt to identify themselves with the suffering and problems of the peasants and workers. Chiang Ch'ing's flaunting of this practice is said to have aroused the indignation of many.

Although the cohabitation of Mao and Chiang Ch'ing had come to be accepted, it was impossible for the other Party leaders to accept her as Mao's wife. One of the basic tenents of the Communist movement was the equality of men and women. A woman was no longer to be treated as so much earth in which a man could plant the seed of his future. If a woman were rejected, or if she found her husband unsatisfactory, she had the right to divorce him. But Mao had not divorced Ho Tzu-chen. She was, even by Communist law, still his wife. This did not of itself make the contract between Mao and Chiang Ch'ing unacceptable. Promiscuity was so prevalent it had earned the epithet of "the ism of one cup of water."* This is not to say the Chinese Communist Party promoted or encouraged this practice. It was simply a fact of life in a situation where the men outnumbered the women 18-to-1. Even when the Party attempted to eliminate the practice, it went on surreptiously all the same. Parties discovered in the act had to be punished, at least perfunctorily. Even though no one wanted to accuse the Chairman of the same crime, Chiang Ch'ing was not really regarded as Madame Mao until the Communist victory.

The pressures on Mao as a result of Chiang Ch'ing's activities nevertheless came to bear. He was left with no alternative but to make her wash off her make-up and stay

* Everyone is entitled to take a cup of water when he needs it; and satisfying one's sexual needs is the same as satisfying one's thirst.

home as a Nara returning to the doll's house. From 1942 or 1943 onwards, she remained for the most part at home, looking after Li Na and later Mao Mao. What happened during that period remains largely unknown. But one source who claims to have been an attendant for the Mao family in the early 1940s* offers a few insights as to the position and activities of Chiang Ch'ing:

"The Chairman often came to our living quarters, asked us if we had any problems, and urged us to study diligently. He also asked Comrade Chiang Ch'ing to teach us. Comrade Chiang was very enthusiastic. Apart from teaching us lessons, she taught us how to write a diary and corrected our exercises. If we forgot to hand them in, she would come to our cave to get them.

"When the Chairman's little daughter was still small, he loved her very much. He would hold her in his arms and tickle her to make her laugh. But when she cried, the Chairman was not at all indulgent. He would tell the child seriously, 'You must listen to Ah Yee' (the Governess). Chairman Mao taught the child to be polite and to call us Shu Shu (uncle) and ask us how we are when she sees us."

Another source who claims to have been a guard of Mao's in November, 1944, relates:

"Not long after Ho Ching-hua (Mao's bodyguard) entered, the Chairman came out of the room guiding Li Na by the hand.

"Comrade Chiang Ch'ing spoke to the child, saying:

'Yes, stay here. If you go now you cannot be sure when you can come back.'

"The next morning I bid the Chairman farewell. While he was walking with Li Na on one side, he said to her: 'Uncle is leaving. Let us see him off.' He saw me

* Ts'i Chi-shu, "Around Mao Tse-tung", 24th Issue, *Chinese Workers,* Peking, 1958.

to the hill. After walking a short distance, I turned my head and found the Chairman and Li Na still there."

From these accounts it is clear that by 1944 Mao and Chiang Ch'ing's daughter, Li Na, already was walking, but still being addressed as a child just learning to talk. The girl probably was three or four years old, which would seem to confirm the dates given here for the beginning of the relationship between the two. These accounts also suggest that while Chiang Ch'ing remained mainly at home, she was not totally removed from the politics of the day since she was apparently present during meetings Mao held in his cave. Though always kept out of the limelight, she also was at Mao's side in the crucial years between the end of World War II and the Communist takeover.

In March and April, 1947, when General Hu Tsung-nan attacked Yenan, Mao, accompanied by Chou En-lai, Jen Pi-shih, Lu Ting-yi and others escaped to Wang Chia Wan, northeast of Anchai County in Shensi Province. Chiang Ch'ing was there with Mao.* Several guards who attended Mao then recall: "Chairman Mao and Comrade Chiang Ch'ing would walk together near their living quarters. Also they would walk out to the nearby slopes and ground opposite the river to dig for wild vegetables and onions."** The image was one of togetherness, and there is nothing to suggest it was otherwise. During part of the time between 1947 and 1949, Chiang Ch'ing probably served as Mao's personal secretary in his mobile headquarters. Though it is difficult to assess her motivation, it would be less than kind to suggest she followed her man

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* "Salute to Comrade Chiang Ch'ing, The Great Standard-bearer of The Cultural Revolution," *Ching-kang Shan,* Peking, May 25, 1967, Survey of China Mainland Press, No. 3996, Aug. 8, 1967, American Consulate General, Hong Kong.

** Liu Hui-shan, "Guarding the Central Committee and Chairman Mao," printed in *China Youth,* 20th and 22nd issues, 1959.

for purely selfish reasons. She had found her place, a place beside the dragon. Why should she not, as a wife, concubine or even servant, share the throne from which Mao reigned.

CHAPTER VI
GIVING UP THE STAGE

The one great embarrassment that remained for Chiang Ch'ing was that she could not become Mao's wife. He was, by all accounts, still married to Ho Tzu-chen. And Ho, in Moscow, is said to have refused his repeated appeals for a divorce. Little information is available on Ho's activities while in the Soviet Union. Given her known bad health, it is likely that she was not politically active. It is interesting, however, that she remained in Russia through a period of tension between Stalin and Mao.* She was, afterall, still Mao's legal wife and whether Stalin considered her presence in the Soviet Union as a lever in his effort

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* During the Cultural Revolution, a group calling itself the Peking Anti-Japanese University's Red Guard Army Unit put up a wall poster reporting a speech purportedly made by Mao at the Tenth Plenum of the Party in September 1962. He is quoted as saying, "The dispute among the Socialist countries originated very early. In 1945, Stalin prevented us from making revolution and forced us to cooperate with Chiang Kai-shek. He also doubted me, thinking that I might turn into a Tito. I went to Moscow to negotiate the Sino-Soviet Alliance Treaty. It took us two months to agree on the terms, but Stalin procrastinated in signing it, showing lack of trust in us. It was not until after the Korean War broke out that he began to trust us."

to turn Mao to his views has been the subject of some conjecture.

Ho did not, in any case, return to China until November 1948. By then she was no longer Mao's wife, and she slipped off into an obscurity of her own.* It is not known if Mao and Chiang Ch'ing were ever officially married. They might very well have entered into a common law arrangement and left it at that. The practice was not uncommon in the Communist groups before the takeover of the nation. Mao and Chiang Ch'ing had been at each other's side long enough to be accepted as husband and wife, and they remained in their tight bond as events propelled them to new heights of glory.

In August 1945 the Japanese imperial army capitulated. That war was over; a new one was to begin. A few days prior to the surrender, the Soviet Union declared war on Japan and Russian troops quick-marched into Manchuria, or the Northeast as the Chinese prefer to call it. In doing so they provided the Chinese Communist forces with a tremendous boost. Before the Nationalist armies could arrive, the Russians had secured the major cities and taken the weapons laid down by the Japanese. Lin Piao was sent to Manchuria, and, under his command, Communist guerrillas who had been operating in the area prior to the surrender moved clandestinely into the Soviet-held areas and began to take charge. The captured Japanese weapons were duly handed over to Lin's armies. By the time the Russians officially turned over to the Nationalists the areas they had secured, the Chinese Communists were firmly entrenched. By mid-1946, attempts to negotiate a settlement

* The exact date of the divorce between Ho and Mao is not known. It likely was in 1947 or 1948 since some sources say Mao's requests for a divorce earlier, up to 1946, were invariably refused.

between the Nationalists and Communists had proved a complete failure. In June of that year civil war broke out again, for the final time.

Chiang Kai-shek and his troops began maneuvering into position for the storming of Yenan. In the spring of 1947, Gen. Hu Tsung-nan's troops began the assault. In response, the CCP Central Committee decided that Mao Tse-tung and Chou En-lai would remain in northern Shensi, avoid the spearhead of the Nationalist army and wait for an opportunity to recover the lost territory. Liu Shao-ch'i and Chu Teh were to infiltrate into Pinshan county, Hopei Province, to set up a headquarters for directing the military movements in Northeast and North China.

The fight in the Northeast swung rapidly and somewhat unexpectedly in the Communists' favor, however, and this forced a change of plans. Instead of remaining in northern Shensi, Mao and Chou En-lai headed for Hopei to link up with Liu and Chu and resume their control of the Central Committee.* Chiang Ch'ing had remained with Mao throughout this period and thus arrived in Pinshan with him.

Control over the Northeast, insured to no small degree when the Russians moved into the area at the end of the war, proved a turning point. The Red Army had a strong and reliable base from which it could take the offensive. By mid-1948, the whole of the Northeast was in Communist hands and the Red troops were pressing south. Chinchow, a strategic point on the road to Peking, fell on October 15. Four days later the industrial city of Changchun in Liaoning Province fell, and along with it came the surrender

* "Two Documents Concerning CCP Central Committee's Temporary Abandoning of Yenan and Safe-guarding Shansi, Kansu and Ninghsia Border Region", pp. 1165, Vol. IX, Chinese edition, *Mao Tse-tung's Selected Works.*

of 100,000 Nationalist troops. Three weeks later, the last of the Nationalist troops in Manchuria were defeated: a loss of nearly half a million troops from the Nationalist army. With Manchuria won and with the recruitment of many of the Nationalist soldiers into the Communist ranks, the pace of the war quickened. For the first time, Communist troop strength outnumbered that of the Nationalists. Victory was in sight.

Reflecting this new confidence in total victory, the CCP inaugurated the *People's Daily* in Shihchiachung, Hopei, where the Central Committee was holed up. Lin Piao's troops were about to move in from Manchuria to strike at Peking and Tientsin. Reports of new successes were pouring into Communist headquarters. Chiang Ch'ing must have felt elated, for the future indeed looked bright.

With the nation flocking to the Communist bandwagon, it was not surprising that Chiang Ch'ing wanted to find a place somewhere in the orchestra. But her choice of possibilities was extremely limited. The appearance of Party leaders with their wives was, if not disapproved, frowned on. In this respect the Chinese Communists tended to follow the Russians. She could not appear in public with Mao and, as the Chinese say, "rely on her husband for honor and glory." She would have to seek a position on her own.

That is not to say there were no wives of prominent men publicly active in the CCP leadership. A few wives who had taken part in the movement for years had achieved fame on their own merits. They had arrived at positions "of honor and glory" without relying on their husbands. Some of these were Ch'u Ch'iu-pai's wife, Yang Tzu-hua; Tsai Ho-shen's wife, Hsiang Chin-yu; Chou En-lai's wife, Teng Ying-chao; Li Fu-chun's wife, Tsai Chang, and Chu Teh's wife, Kang Ke-ching. However galling to the gentlemen concerned, some wives, such as Tsai Chang, were better known than their husbands.*

The question remained. What could Chiang Ch'ing do to establish herself? The women's movement was dominated by Tsai Chang, Teng Ying-chao, Kang Ke-ching and Yang Tzu-hua. And Chiang Ch'ing knew little of that work. All she did know, in fact, was drama and the movie world. Yet even in the arts the names had been made: Ting Ling, Chen Hsueh-chao, Ts'ao Ming, Ko Ch'in, Yuan Chin, Li Pai-chao and, of course, Chen Po-erh. To rise to the top would be difficult, even though she had been a movie actress and had worked at the Lu Hsun Art Institute. But for once she had a trump card: the title, Madame Mao. It was true that Yuan Mu-chih and Chen Po-erh still dominated the film world. But talent, however mediocre, was in short supply and neither Yuan nor Chen was so naive as to overlook Chiang Ch'ing's new status. With unusual ease she was accepted by the Film Bureau of the Propaganda Department of the Party Central Committee and became a "Central Comrade" sharing the leadership over film enterprises.

It is not known exactly when this Film Bureau was established. Most likely it was set up sometime around 1946, and probably was headed by Yuan Mu-chih. According to the *Chinese Motion Picture Development History,* the CCP expanded and re-organized the Yenan Film Team in July 1946 into the Yenan Film Studio. The staff members sent from Yenan to the Northeast — including Chien Siao-chang, Tien Fang and Hsu K'o — had met

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* It was only much later that Liu Shao-chi's wife, Wang Kuang-mei, and Chen Yi's wife, Chang Ch'ien, began appearing in public with their husbands, particularly during visits to foreign countries or during receptions for foreign visitors to China. From 1962, Chiang Ch'ing started appearing with Mao, but even then only on rare occasions.

Yuan Mu-chih on his return from Moscow. They went ahead to take over the Manchurian Screen and Painting Studio that had been run by the puppet Manchukuo government.

On October 1, 1946, the Northeast Motion Picture Studio was established. The studio became the base for the Communist film enterprise and served as such until the Communist takeover in 1949. Named to head the studio was Yuan Mu-chih, probably because of his four years of special training in the Soviet Union. After Liberation, the Northeast Studio sent personnel to take over the movie operations in Peking and Shanghai. Among the other motion picture groups operated by the Communists was the North China Motion Picture Team, headed by Wang Yang. This team was later expanded into the Shihchiachuang Studio, under the direction of the Film Bureau of the CCP Central Committee Propaganda Department. With the capture of Peking, this studio — together with the personnel sent from the Northeast Studio — took over the Central Motion Picture Studio III and renamed it the Peking Studio.

After Gen. Hu Tsung-nan launched his attack on Yenan in 1947, the studio there beat a hasty retreat. A Northwest Motion Picture Work Team was organized with the workers from the Shensi and Shansi staffs. In March, 1948, the team reached the Northeast and was merged with the Northeast Studio. By May, 1947, the Northeast Studio had begun to turn out documentaries. Under the guidance of Chen Po-erh, the studio produced 17 films under the overall title of "The Democratic Northeast." Responsible for editing and directing this series were Chien Siao-chang, Hsu Siao-p'ing, Wu Kuo-yin, Chiang Yun-chuan, Kao Wei-tsin, Jen Ying and Chang Chien-chen. In September, 1948 the Northeast Studio delivered a work report to the Party

Central Committee, and in November the Central Committee gave a general directive on the motion picture enterprise. It was probably at this time that Chiang Ch'ing went to the Northeast Studio after joining the Film Bureau of the Propaganda Department.

More than a decade later, Chiang Yun-chuan, a script writer and director with the Northeast Studio, published an article entitled "Grown Up in the Arms of the Party." He mentioned Chiang Ch'ing, saying: "In making the long documentary film, 'The Great Agrarian Reform', we received direct guidance from many responsible comrades. At the initial stage of the filming, Comrade Chiang Ch'ing of the Film Bureau looked over our outline and film material and studied with us the theme and the display of it, giving us great help."* This reference would seem to suggest that Chiang Ch'ing took her position with the Film Bureau as more than a sinecure. How active she was in this respect is difficult to say. It seems likely, however, that she gave more than the occasional bit of advice and assistance. It was not in her nature to let things slip by untouched.

In March, 1949, the Northeast Studio was moved from Hsingshan, where it had gone when civil war swept the area in 1946, back to Changchun. Yuan Mu-chih, however, went to Peking. In April the Central Committee Propaganda Department's Film Bureau was reorganized into the Central Film Control Bureau. Yuan remained director. Though no confirmation is available, Chiang Ch'ing apparently went to Peking at the same time and remained with the Bureau. But she did not move into any higher position. Yuan, though a brilliant man, showed less than brilliance or delicacy in his handling of relationships. Frequently, it seems, he rankled Chiang Ch'ing. Five years later he was in disgrace.

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* *Popular Motion Picture,* Peking, June, 1961.

After Peking was "liberated" in January, 1949, the Communist and leftist literary men who had gathered at Shihchiachuang went to Peking. In March Kuo Mo-jo proposed at a literary and arts circle's tea party the calling of a national meeting of literature and art workers. A preparatory committee for this meeting was formed. The members were Kuo Mo-jo, Mao Tun, Chou Yang, Hu Chiao-mu, Tien Han, Ting Ling, Yang Han-shen, Yuan Mu-chih and Yu Ling. In July, 800 delegates attended the meeting at the invitation of the preparatory committee. This meeting decided to form a national literature and arts organization. The All China Federation of Literary and Art Circles was thus born.

Under the Federation were the Literary Workers Association, Stage Players Association, Movie Players Association, Art Workers Association, Musicians Association and Dancers Association. The organization was designed to bring all literature and art workers under the direct leadership of the CCP Central Committee's Propaganda Department. Nearly all those who had been working in the arts who had at least some reputation and had not openly opposed the Party were invited to join the Federation. The list of names finally decided on by Kuo Mo-jo and the other leaders was published like a list of the successful candidates in the imperial examinations. From the standpoint of Party recognition, those whose names were included on the list and who attended the founding meeting of the Federation were enjoying a moment of glory. They were in high standing with the Party and in the literary and art circles. Inexplicably, the young woman who once was a film starlet, a teacher at the Lu Hsun Art Institute, who once worked as a leader in the Central Committee Propaganda Department's Film Bureau, who went to the

Northeast to direct film work and who was still serving in the Central Control Bureau when the meeting was held, Comrade Chiang Ch'ing, was not on the list.

It was the worst insult of all. Among those from the theatrical and film worlds invited were many whom Chiang Ch'ing had shared the spotlight with in Shanghai.* More disturbing still, some of them were unknowns or had made their names much later than her. What made the rebuke even more painful was that Kuo Lan-ying, a woman stage player of a theater in Yenan whom Chiang Ch'ing despised, Sun Wei-shih, the woman who took Hsu I-hsin from her, and Mei Lan-fang, Chou Hsi-fang and Yuan Hsieh-feng, who had never taken part in the revolution, were all made delegates to the meeting. Since she was not a delegate, Chiang Ch'ing could not attend the parties held for the participants nor could she be elected as a committee member of the Federation or to any of the associations under it. In brief, she was totally rejected by the literary and art circles. Her previous work was to go unrewarded.

Whether or not the failure to include her on the list of delegates was a deliberate move, it appears to have sealed the fate for many of China's most brilliant men and women of the arts. All of the leaders who first conceived the idea for the Federation and joined the preparatory committee for it, with the exception of Kuo Mo-jo, have been purged. It was Chiang Ch'ing who, in the Cultural Revolution, lashed out as only a woman scorned can, at the famous personages of the theater and screen, toppling the hierarchy of the Party Propaganda Department and the Ministry of Culture.

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* They included: Chen Po-erh, Chao Tan, Pai Yang, Chao Wei-shen, Li Li-li, Shu Hsiu-wen, Wei Ho-ling, Lu En, Wu Yin, Lan Ma, Feng Tzu, Cheng Chun-li, Chang Fa, Tao Ching, Lu Pan, Chang Tsui-fang and Chin Yi.

CHAPTER VII
VANITY AND REVENGE

Although the First Lady was not on the official list of delegates invited to the founding meeting of the All-China Federation of Literary and Art Circles, she continued to have a voice in cultural affairs. Chiang Ch'ing remained with the Party Propaganda Department's Film Bureau when it was changed to the Film Control Bureau. This Bureau was in charge of censorship of films in the days immediately after the Communists won power. In early 1950 the Bureau, as well as other organs operating in the cultural field, were transferred to the Ministry of Culture. Chiang Ch'ing was then named to the Film Enterprise Guiding Committee, which was an advisory board under the Ministry. The exact functions of the various committees and bureaus, which often appeared to be redundant, are difficult to determine. It would seem, however, that the Film Enterprise Guiding Committee played at least a nominal censorship role, a role that Chiang Ch'ing was to find well-suited to her desire of exercising an influence over cultural affairs.

In March, 1950, a movie entitled "Inside Story of

the Ching Court" had its premiere in China. The movie was filmed by the Yung Hua Film Company in Hong Kong in 1948. Originally it was a stage play, "Sorrows of the Forbidden City", written by Yao Ke. It had been staged at various places in the mainland before Liberation and had won a popular following. Yung Hua Film Company's proprietor, Li Tzu-yung, sent for Yao Ke from Shanghai to write a screen version of the play. According to Yao Ke, certain parts of the film version were written by Li and the movie's director, Chu Shih-ling.* At the time it was brought to China, the two studios in Shanghai and Peking had been taken over by the Communists but had not produced any films. The Northeast Studio continued to turn out only documentaries. Some movies produced before the Communist takeover, as well as some foreign films, were screened to meet public demand, but only after strict censorship. The film "Inside Story of the Ching Court" was imported under these circumstances.

Not long after it first appeared on the People's screens, controversy over its message began to well. Whether motivated by desire for revenge or from a sincere "revolutionary" concern over the nature of the film, Chiang Ch'ing unsheathed her sword and took to battle against those responsible for bringing the movie to China. Those held responsible: Lu Ting-yi, Director of the Party Propaganda Department, Chou Yang, Vice Minister of Culture, and Hu Chiao-mu, Deputy Director of the Party Propaganda Department — the overlords of China's cultural affairs.

But those lords of word and song were not ready to be Chiang Ch'ing's Goliath. Her assault came to no avail. Although it was 17 years before the outside world learned

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* *Ming Pao Monthly*, Hong Kong, May 1967.

of the growing conflict over cultural matters in China, Chiang Ch'ing's repudiation of "Inside Story of the Ching Court" now stands as the first volley fired in what was to be her protracted war, and apparently resulted in her own sorrows in the forbidden city. The truth began to emerge with the first issue in 1967 of the Chinese journal *Red Flag*. An article written by Yao Wen-yuan entitled, "Comments on the Counter-revolutionary Dual-faced Chou Yang," flatly labelled the film "reactionary." At the end of March, 1967, Chi Pen-yu* published an article in issue number five of *Red Flag* entitled "Patriotism or National Betrayal?" It was a bitter denunciation of State Chairman Liu Shao-ch'i. It revealed that Chiang Ch'ing had been a moving force in stirring the nagging conflict over the proper approach to literature and the arts. As the article explained it:

> Comrade Chiang Ch'ing, then (in 1950) a member of a committee for guiding the work of the cinema under the Ministry of Culture, upheld the proletarian revolutionary line of Chairman Mao and at a number of meetings proposed that the film "Inside Story of the Ching Court" be firmly criticized and repudiated. However, Lu Ting-yi, Chou Yang, Hu (Chiao-mu) and others vigorously opposed this proposal and did their best to advertize the "patriotic progressiveness" of this reactionary film. When Comrade Chiang Ch'ing wanted to act according to Chairman Mao's directive, they threw at her the reactionary talk of their boss behind the scenes, the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road (Liu Shao-chi), and said: 'Comrade so and so holds that it is a patriotic film'* Firmly upholding the truth, Comrade Chiang Ch'ing stood her ground and in no uncertain terms refuted their reactionary and ludicrous statements insisting that the film be criticized and repudiated. They had to give way, but perfunctorily appointed an historian of reactionary views to write a short fake criticism which was really aimed at shielding the film. They considered even such an article 'too sharp', and held up its publication, thus smothering a major struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie on the cultural and ideological front.

"Sorrows in the Forbidden City" was a story depicting quite faithfully the strife in the court near the end of the Ching Dynasty (1644-1911), reflecting the struggle between the young and the old generations, with Emperor Kuang-hsu and his beloved royal concubine Chen Fei representing the young progressive forces, and the Empress Dowager representing the old reactionary forces. The same

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* Yao Wen-yuan and Ch'i Pen-yu emerged during the Cultural Revolution as two new and young faces in the Chinese leadership. One report (see *Tokyo Shimbun*, Dec. 21, 1966) has claimed that these two men, among others, came under Chiang Ch'ing's sway in the early 1960's. She is said to have cultivated bright young people from Peking University and other institutions, meeting with them at Wanshou Shan, a scenic spot in the western part of Peking, for political discussions. She is said to have encouraged them to write critical essays on literary and artistic works. Ch'i Pen-yu, a member of the Philosophy and Social Sciences Department of the Chinese Academy of Sciences in Peking, was said to have had early contact with Chiang Ch'ing. In August 1963 he published an article criticizing the Taip'ing rebel Li Hsiu-cheng. Chou Yang attacked him for this. Yao Wen-yuan was a literary worker under the Shanghai Writers' Association at the time. He probably met Chiang Ch'ing through Ko Ch'ing-shih, head of the Shanghai Municipal Party Committee and an avid supporter of Mao, and Chang Chun-chiao, a member of the Shanghai Party Committee. Yao, Ch'i and Chang were all named to the Party Central Committee's Cultural Revolution Group, appearing frequently at Chiang Ch'ing's side and obviously among her most trusted lieutenants. In early 1968, however, Ch'i Pen-yu was purged for alleged "ultra-leftist" activities.

* According to a publication of Chinghua University Red Guards, "Three Trials of Pickpocket Wang Kuang-mei", Wang Kuang-mei (Liu Shao-chi's wife) denied that Liu had said anything about that movie.

article by Ch'i Pen-yu said Mao Tse-tung declared the film a national betrayal and said it should be criticized and repudiated. Whether Chiang Ch'ing was acting on behalf of Mao was left unsaid. But Mao could very well have been directing Chiang Ch'ing's involvement, for Mao was deeply concerned with the role and nature of literature and art in society. Chiang Ch'ing, in any case, must have entered the fray with glee. For even though she was to lose this initial battle, she did not lose her zeal for the struggle.

It may seem somewhat strange that Mao did not exert his judgement on the film more forcefully, that he did not throw the debate open and argue it out with the opponents, and that he let Chiang Ch'ing lose that battle. The fact is Mao did not dare to press his point at that time. His judgment was that the Empress Dowager and her Boxers who hated all foreigners stood for patriotism, and that Kuang-hsu and Chen Fei who wanted to make peace with foreigners and to carry on Western-styled modernization stood for national betrayal. But clearly this view was not acceptable, not only among the general Chinese public but also among many Communist Party members. Chinese audiences sympathized with the benevolent Emperor Kuang-hsu and his courageous companion Chen Fei, both of whom were eventually murdered by the sinister Empress Dowager. The Empress Dowager and the Boxers were condemned for obstructing progress and bringing national disaster. Mao, however mighty his power, was not ready to force upon the Party and public an unpopular view. So he did not choose to get himself involved personally in the controversy raised by that film. Instead he allowed his wife to carry the burden.

A year later, in 1951, the film "The Life of Wu Hsun"* came under fire. This time, again according to Ch'i Pen-yu's article, the standard-bearer himself, Chairman Mao, entered the fight. The Wu Hsun case rocked the cultural world in China. Chiang Ch'ing played no small part in carrying on the battle. Several reports appeared later claiming that she "faithfully applied the instructions of Chairman Mao, and personally organized an investigation team for the case." This team completed its study in the summer of 1951.**

Wu Hsun was a righteous beggar in Tang Yi County, Shantung, who lived in the last years of the Ching Dynasty. He begged, so the story went, to accumulate funds for establishing schools. There were many tales about this real-life figure passed on by story-tellers in western Shan-

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* Ch'i Pen-yu's article described the film in these terms: "The 'Life of Wu Hsun' was a most pernicious counter-revolutionary film which fervently praised the landlord class and its lackeys, frenziedly advocated the most shameless slavishness and capitulationism, and maliciously slandered the peasants' revolutionary struggles. Wu Hsun (1838-1896) was a landlord whom the film turned into a great man willing to sacrifice himself to provide poor peasant children with a chance to study." See *Peking Review*, No. 15, April 7, 1967.

** Several Red Guard publications reported this, including "Canton Printing System Red Flag", No. 1, Oct. 29, 1967 op. cit. A leftist writer in Hong Kong, Tsao Chu-jen, wrote in the Communist paper *Cheng Wu Pao*, published in Hong Kong, that he had been told about this during one of his visits to China. The writer toured the mainland several times and was known to be acquainted with many people in literary and art circles. The investigation group consisted of 13 members. Those listed from the Ministry of Culture were Yuan Hsui-pa, Chung Tien-fei and Li Chin. The remainder were all members of provincial and county propaganda staffs. The name Li Chin is unknown, but clearly is another pseudonym used by Chiang Ch'ing. The evidence of this comes from the fact that a Red Guard publication, *Cultural Revolution Bulletin*, Canton, Nov. 8, 1967, in Survey of China Mainland Press, 4076, Dec. 8, 1967, American Consulate-General Hong Kong, cites a poem written by Mao as an inscription for a photograph taken by Chiang Ch'ing. The publication *Trade and Tours*, November 1967, published by the Communist-run Trade and Service Press in Hong Kong, cites the same poem as an inscription for a photograph "taken by Comrade Li Chin."

tung. After the Ching Dynasty was overthrown and the Republic of China founded, the tales of Wu Hsun were collected and made into a book, "The Life of Wu Hsun." To promote education, Wu Hsun's selfless spirit and dedication to education was lauded and eulogized by China's men of letters. Some of the tales about him were even incorporated into primary school textbooks in Shantung, and Tang Yi County at one time was renamed Wu Hsun County.

The Kunlun Film Company in Shanghai started filming "The Life of Wu Hsun" on the eve of the Communist takeover. Sun Yu, a leftist actor-director who directed the filming of "Ten Thousand Miles Over the Sky" for the Central Movie Company in Chungking in 1939 and gave the leading roles to Pai Yang and Wang Jen-mei in preference to Lan P'ing, wrote the scenario and directed the picture. It was just after she failed to win a part in "Ten Thousand Miles Over the Sky" that Chiang Ch'ing left for Sian. The filming of "Wu Hsun" was completed shortly after the People's Republic was founded in October 1949. Hsia Yen and Yu Ling, leaders of the literary and art circles in Shanghai, censored and passed the film. On New Year's Day, 1951, the film had its debut, first in Shanghai and then in Peking. Newspapers throughout the country sung its praises. But suddenly in April and May of that year, the *Literary Gazette* published two articles entitled "Wu Hsun Not To Be Taken as a Lesson" and "Is There A Positive Significance in Mr. Tao Hsing-chih's Praising of Wu Hsun's Spirit?". Several other criticisms of the film appeared, but some writers continued to insist that the film was "clean." They argued that Wu Hsun and the film should be considered separately, saying that perhaps his way of carrying out his mission was wrong but his spirit was worth praising. Historical fact and art, motive and effect, approval and

opposition all became involved in the mounting controversy.* This prompted Mao to write the editorial, "Pay Serious Attention to the Discussion of the Film, 'The life of Wu Hsun'," which appeared in *People's Daily* on May 20, 1951. "Bourgeois reactionary thinking," Mao declared, "has invaded the militant Communist Party! Certain Communist Party members claim to have learned Marxism. Where has it gone to?"

From that point on the matter was resolved. The Party's Propaganda Department, the Ministries of Culture and Education, and regional state organs issued directives calling for the criticism and repudiation of the film. All those who had praised it — including Kuo Mo-jo, Chou Yang, Hsia Yen, and Yu Ling — made self-criticisms. The film was banned. Shortly thereafter, the *People's Daily* and the Ministry of Culture organized the investigation group to make an on-the-spot check at places where Wu Hsun had lived. The group worked for 20 days and then made a lengthy report, "A Record of Investigation into Wu Hsun's History." The report was serialized in *People's Daily* from July 23-28, 1951. In brief, the report found: "Wu Hsun was a big landlord and hooligan who, pretending to be a lunatic, swindled money from and exploited peasants and willingly served as a filial son to the feudal ruling class."

No doubt poor Wu Hsun turned in his grave at the thought of someone calling him a landlord; he was, as the tales portrayed him, no more than a poor beggar who owned not an inch of land. To many observers, the film was innocuous enough even though Wu Hsun had been popularized under the Nationalists and even though he lived in feudal times. It is tempting to speculate, as some have,

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* "A Big Event In the Literary and Artistic Circle Ideological Argument From Wu Hsun's Life'", *Ta Kung Pao,* Hong Kong, Nov. 1, 1951.

that the fierce attack on the film originated on the pillows in the Mao household. Chiang Ch'ing, stymied in her attempt to disgrace her enemies with the attack on "Inside Story of the Ching Court", may have talked Mao into personally leading the fight against "The Life of Wu Hsun." There are, indeed, indications that Chiang Ch'ing was not above fingering people for her husband to destroy.*

In the aftermath of the criticism of that film, a rectification campaign was launched in the cultural field. In the winter of 1951, all literature and art departments, and their publications, underwent a thorough check and all workers in the field were forced to make self-examinations. This rectification campaign lasted for more than one year, and it was not until the winter of 1952 that it began to end. For some cultural affairs workers the outcome of the campaign was banishment to the harsh border areas in the Northeast to undergo "reform through labor." Yet Chiang Ch'ing's victory was not of that resounding variety. Apart from Lu Ting-yi, who was temporarily demoted from Director to Deputy Director of the Propaganda Department, few of the top people were affected. Chou Yang emerged not only unscathed but in a position of greater influence. In addition to being re-elected Vice Chairman of the All-China Federation of Literary and Art Circles in 1953, he was made a member of the Presidium of that organization. For most of the others, they were supported by Liu Shao-ch'i and P'eng Chen who held the ultimate power over literary and artistic affairs. Many of those occupying the leading positions in cultural work had been involved in leftist activities

* A Red Guard pamphlet of unstated origin reported the following statement allegedly made by Mao in October 1967: "Wang Li is a bad fellow from the beginning. Chiang Ch'ing long ago talked to me about the problem of Wang Li and Kuan Feng." *Facts & Features,* Vol. 1 No. 3, supplement to *Issues & Studies,* Institute of International Relations, Taipei, Taiwan.

since their student days in the 1930's. They were close to Liu and P'eng, and in any case still valuable to the state in this early period of Communist rule when a shortage of literary and artistic talent existed. Even those like Hsiao Chun, who openly opposed the Soviet Union and the CCP in his writings in the *Culture Journal* (published in Harbin) and was sentenced to labor reform, were allowed to continue working. Hsiao spent his "sentence" in Peking writing his novel *The Mines in May.* When the All-China Federation of Literary and Art Circles called its second National meeting in September, 1953, the ruling personnel still consisted of men like Chou Yang.

At about the same time, Chen Po-erh — the idol of the movie world and the woman Chiang Ch'ing had long eyed with envy and contempt — died. Yuan Mu-chih, shattered by Chen's death and the toll of the rectification movement, began to drift. The brilliance that won him such fame in the days of Shanghai, Wuhan and Yenan was gone. Although still in charge of the film industry, almost nothing was being produced by the studios under him. By 1953 Yuan was no longer active in his post with the Film Bureau. One report detailing the situation in December 1954 disclosed: "In the past year the creative writing of film scripts has shown a notable turn for the better. This changed the condition of stagnation in production that prevailed for several years."* The period of stagnation in production was precisely the time during which Yuan was responsible for the Film Bureau. At the 2nd National People's Congress convened in September 1954, the Government Administration Council was reorganized into the State Council. The Film Enterprise Guiding Committee of

* "On Creation of Images of Frontal Personalities," by Chen Huang-mei, in *On Creation of Movie Scripts,* Chinese Film Publishing House, Peking, 1959.

the Ministry of Culture was dissolved, and Yuan Mu-chih was replaced by Wang Lan-si, previously the Film Bureau's Deputy Director.

With the reshuffle, Chiang Ch'ing lost the only official position relating to cultural matters that she held, that of membership on the Film Enterprise Guiding Committee. She was not named to the reorganized Film Bureau. She also was relieved of her duties as a member of the Board of Directors of the Headquarters of the Sino-Soviet Friendship Association at its 2nd General Meeting held in 1955. For the next seven years she appears to have retired from public life, devoting herself to being a housewife. There was only one official report on her during that period. The *Hsinhua News Agency* reported from Chengchow on June 30, 1958, that Tsui Yin-yen, head of the Yin Chu People's Commune at Fengchu County, Honan Province, was sent for by Mao on the evening of June 14. He called at the Chairman's residence in Chung Nan Hai in Peking and stayed for dinner. At dinner, Mao introduced Chiang Ch'ing to him, saying simply: "She is my wife." Also at the dinner were Mao's two daughters by Chiang Ch'ing, Mao Mao and Li Na, and Mao's nephew, Mao Tse-min's son.

Unable to shake the hierarchy of China's literature and art, Madame Mao withdrew from battle. As in some of the earlier periods of her life, the curtain here falls. Official Chinese reports do not offer an explanation for this seven-year period in which she does not appear; even Red Guard accounts of her life published during the Cultural Revolution fail to touch on the period from 1955 to 1962. Why did she withdraw? How did she spend her time? Any answer at this writing must remain conjecture. It is not improbable that she simply retired to the kitchen, either at Mao's behest or of her own accord.

To understand what later brought Chiang Ch'ing out of retirement it is necessary to understand at least the general situation during the years she was not seen. By early 1954 the attention and concern over cultural questions had given way to emphasis on China's economic and political affairs. New troubles were brewing, and demanding attention. In the spring of 1954, political differences within the Party had become highly charged and two party officials, Jao Shu-shih and Kao Kang were purged. In 1955, Mao and Liu Shao-ch'i clashed over the policy of agricultural collectivation. In early 1956 the State Council passed the decisions on reforming, or rather fully nationalizing, all industrial enterprises still privately owned. On the international scene, Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev delivered his bitter denunciation of Stalin in February, 1956, at the 20th Congress of the Soviet Communist Party: a move that planted the seeds that were to blossom into the Sino-Soviet dispute. In May of that year, the short-lived but devastatingly revealing Hundred Flowers Campaign of free expression was launched. There was little initial response, and Mao had to give personal assurances in February 1957 that those who spoke up would not be punished. This really opened the dam, and the consequent flood threatened to topple the regime. In the aftermath, Mao had to accept Liu Shao-ch'i's advice and, swallowing his assurances, switch to a massive "anti-rightist" rectification movement in late June, 1957. The next year Mao hoisted the "Three Red Flags": the "General Line of Socialist Construction", the "Great Leap Forward" and the "People's Communes." By the end of 1959 it was painfully clear that the hysterical leap and commune programs were utter failures. Liu Shao-ch'i had taken over the title of State Chairman from Mao, which, as revealed during the Cultural Revolution, was the result of political pressure on Mao. In August 1959, the CCP

held its Eighth Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee. At that meeting, Mao's long-trusted lieutenant and fellow provincial Defense Minister P'eng Teh-huai, addressed a memorandum to the Chairman criticizing the Great Leap and People's Communes. Mao had had enough. In September, P'eng was removed from his post and Lin Piao was appointed Minister of Defense.

1960 proved a particularly trying year. The difficulties created by the Great Leap and too rapid collectivization were compounded by the worst natural disasters China had experienced in 100 years and the Soviet withdrawal of its aid and technical assistance. With the nation on the brink of economic collapse, Mao was forced to allow a retrenchment of some of the more radical of his policies. Thus his hold on the national leadership began to slip. By 1961, according to charges leveled during the Cultural Revolution, Liu Shao-ch'i, Teng Hsiao-p'ing, P'eng Chen, and other Party stalwarts no longer consulted Mao. They treated him, as the charges put it, "like a dead father."

There are some reports that Mao's health also began to deteriorate, and that he went to the southern part of the country to rest and recuperate.* Presumably Chiang Ch'ing went with him. Away from the pressure and strains in the capital, Mao began to recover his physical strength. But what was happening to the nation must have brought him little joy.

Two of his closest allies, the East China Party boss K'o Ch'ing-shih and the new Defense Minister, Lin Piao, are said to have frequently visited Mao during that period to keep him posted on national developments. Chou Hsin-fang, they told him, was staging in several cities a new

* These reports come not from official sources but from individuals in China at the time who later made their way to Hong Kong or Macao. It is generally known, in any case, that Mao frequently spent winter in the south, at times for health reasons.

historical play entitled "Hai Jui Presents Petitions." The message was scarcely concealed: Hai Jui was P'eng Teh-haui, the petition was P'eng's memorandum, and the vilified Ming Emperor was Mao Tse-tung. The whole artistic and literary field was up in rebellion. Li Shu-chun was staging the Soochow opera "Li Hui Niang," which openly promoted revenge to wipe out disgraces (again referring to the Mao-P'eng affair). Tu Chin-fang was staging the Peking opera "Hsieh Yao Huan," written by T'ien Han, with the theme of pleading for mercy for the people. Ma Lien-liang was promoting Wu Han's play, "Hai Jui Dismissed From Office."

In the capital, the newspapers *Peking Daily* and *Peking Evening News* began printing on March 19, 1961, two columns entitled "Evening Talks at Yenshan" and "Notes From the Three Family Village." These articles continued to appear until September 2, 1962. The writers showed little mercy, though considerable subtlety, in their attacks, going so far as to hint that Mao had a poor memory and "talked with empty words." The vicious assault on Mao's leadership spread far and wide. It infected not only the literature and art of the day but was even reflected in the Party leadership. At an enlarged meeting of the Party Central Committee held under the auspices of Liu Shao-ch'i in January, 1962, Liu condemned Mao's policies as "the mistake of 'ruthless struggle and merciless attack'" and proposed that those policies be summed up as a historical lesson, and summarily filed in history's dustbin.*

Mao was, of course, not unaware of all this, nor was he prepared to tolerate it. But the forces arrayed against him were indeed formidable: they were headed by capable men posted in leadership positions in the financial, econo-

* From the Red Guard publication *"Cultural Revolution Bulletin,"* No. 11, May, 1967, in *Current Background,* No. 842, Dec. 8, 1967, U.S. Consulate-General, Hong Kong.

mic, cultural, educational, and political departments of the Party, State, and Military establishments. Mao had his great prestige, the backing of Lin Piao, his supporters in the army, and at least some of the party leadership. He also had his cunning, dedicated wife who would relish another crack at the "big-heads" in literature and the arts.

CHAPTER VIII
THE NEW CHALLENGE

On through 1962 the storm of protest over Mao Tse-tung's adventurist policies raged intense. Much of the subtlety that characterized the criticism in 1961 was thrown off and literary giants like T'ien Han openly urged everyone to "vent his spleen." On May 4, 1962, the *People's Daily* introduced a special column called "Long and Short Notes." In all, 37 articles appeared under this column, expressing opposition to Mao's policies, to the "thought of Mao Tse-tung," and calling for a liberalization of the restrictions on literature and the arts. Nearly every Chinese opera house was staging plays based on historical themes in contradiction of Mao's directives on revolutionizing drama. Popular books and cartoons propagating the "good old days" flooded the countryside.*

If anyone rose to criticize these goings on, he was immediately pounced upon. At a symposium on the creation of drama, new opera and plays for children held in Canton by the Ministry of Culture and the Union of Drama-

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* *Cultural Revolution Bulletin*, No. 11, May 1967, op. cit.

tists in March, 1962, a typical example of this occurred. Lin Mo-han, since August, 1961, a Deputy Director of the CCP Propaganda Department, delivered a speech viciously denouncing Yao Wen-yuan, the Shanghai ideologue, for attacking the film "Cuckoos Cry Again." Yao's criticism, Lin Mao-han declared, was "over-simple," "rude," and "dreadful." He asked the representatives from Shanghai to investigate and condemn Yao and his critique.*

The challenge to Mao's authority was the greatest since the days of the Long March. It stretched from the hallowed halls of the Central Committee down to the humble folk opera stages in remote Kwangtung villages. The enemy held the pen; Mao had to have the gun. In June, 1962, Defense Minister Lin Piao issued his "Directive on the Unfolding of Cultural and Recreational Work in Armed Forces Units." The directive declared: "The cultural work of armed forces units is also a kind of propaganda and educational work. It likewise can play the role of the gun, and also can play a role which the gun cannot play."** From the day Lin Piao took over as Defense Minister from the disgraced P'eng Teh-huai, he had loudly sung Mao's tune. He actively promoted the slogan of "holding high the banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought," deified the Chairman and ordered the troops to "place politics in the fore, and study and apply Mao Tse-tung's works creatively."*** In the swell of opposition, Lin Piao must surely have shone as a light out of the darkness for Mao Tse-tung. With the movement to regain control of his authority bounding ahead in the military, Mao dispatched his other supporters directly to the head of the sore.

Chiang Ch'ing re-emerged. Again her voice was being

* *Cultural Revolution Bulletin,* No. 11, May 1967, op. cit.
** Ibid.
*** Ibid.

heard on China's cultural affairs. In July, 1962, K'ang Sheng — the native of Chiang Ch'ing's home county who introduced her into the Party — delivered to Hsia Yen, at the time a member of the National Committee of the All-China Federation of Literary and Arts Circles and a member of the Board of Directors of the All-China Motion Picture Workers' Federation, a pointed statement by Chiang Ch'ing. Of late, she observed, many bad plays had appeared on the folk opera stage. This was a grave problem. Furthermore, she told Hsia Yen, she had seen the play "Hai Jui Dismissed From Office." It contained serious political mistakes, and should be immediately withdrawn.*

The battle was joined, again. Mao, sensing the time ripe and the odds in his favor, launched his massive offensive. On September 24, the 10th Plenum of the 8th Central Committee opened. From the rostrum, Mao laid it on the line in sarcastic but unambiguous terms: "The use of novels to carry out anti-Party activities is a great invention. In order to overthrow a political power, it is always necessary to create public opinion, to do work in the ideological sphere. This is true for the revolutionary class as well as for the counter-revolutionary class."** What Mao apparently realized was that although his detractors had gained the ascendency over literature and the arts and were indeed making progress, they had not yet created a public opinion that would allow them to overwhelm his still tremendous personal prestige.

Three weeks before the 10th Plenum convened, the "Three-Family Village" articles in *Peking Evening News* appeared for the last time, the final article was entitled "Thirty-six Stratagems." According to an old Chinese saying, there are 36 stratagems for avoiding disaster. The

* *Cultural Revolution Bulletin,* No. 11, May 1967, op. cit.
** Ibid.

36th, and best, is to run away. The most vindictive of Mao's critics were the first to apply the 36th stratagem. But others were to follow. On October 19 Chou Yang hurriedly made a self-criticism and tried to whitewash the seriousness of the problems Mao had raised.*

It was against the backdrop of these developments that Chiang Ch'ing moved, with speed and deliberation, to her husband's aid. There is little doubt that Mao considered his wife a source of strength and inspiration, a completely loyal and dedicated companion, and a fierce fighter for what he and she believed in. Nothing says this more forcefully than the verse Mao inscribed on September 9, 1961, on a photo of the Fairy Cave in Lushan, Kiangsi Province, taken by Chiang Ch'ing:

Amid the growing shades of dusk stand sturdy pines,
Riotous clouds drift past, swift and tranquil,
Nature has excelled herself in the Fairy Cave.
On perilous peaks dwells beauty in her infinite variety.**

That this was intended by Mao as a panegyric of Chiang Ch'ing seems evident in light of the fact that Chou En-lai and others referred to it as "a most comprehensive, perfect, penetrating, and figurative portrayal of Comrade Chiang Ch'ing."*** Into the riotous clouds and growing shades of dusk she plunged, once again unsheathing her sword to lead the attack.

By winter, 1962, Chiang Ch'ing had completed an extensive review of more than 1,000 Peking Operas then being staged, including all those performed by the Peking

* "On the Counter-revolutionary Double Dealer Chou Yang," by Yao Wen-yuan, *Chinese Literature,* No. 3, 1967.

** *Cultural Revolution Bulletin,* Canton, Nov. 8, 1967, in *Survey of the China Mainland Press,* No. 4076, Dec. 8, 1967, American Consulate-General, Hong Kong.

*** Ibid.

No. 1 Peking Opera Company.* She concluded that confusion was created by the repertoire being staged at that time, and "poisonous weeds" had flourished. It was necessary, she said, to ban plays about ghosts, gods, emperors, generals, court officials and concubines. She selected Peking Opera as the first target for reform. The choice was well made, for Peking Opera not only was an art form she had once studied, but it stood as the most intractable of the old cultural forces. The Chinese people had for two hundred years followed and loved the known plots and known characters of Peking Opera with a zeal far surpassing that of an American baseball enthusiast or a British soccer fan. If it were possible to impose on the baseball enthusiast a game of six innings instead of nine, or a British soccer fan a game of free use of the hands, everything else would follow. Chiang Ch'ing must have realized that the same held for Peking Opera. If she could successfully apply contemporary themes to Peking Opera, the other forms of Chinese drama would easily follow suit. It was the only way to attack the 400 or more different kinds of opera then being staged in China. The magnitude of her challenge was best seen in terms of the pervasive influence of opera on Chinese life. Of the estimated 3,000 theatrical companies in the country, 2,800 were performing some kind of Chinese opera.

Chiang Ch'ing set about to change the character of Peking Opera. In the winter of 1962-63, she met with the young actors and actresses of the capital's No. 1 Peking Opera Company and urged them to perform operas on

* "Comrade Chiang Ch'ing and Peking Opera Shachiapang", *Peking New Literary Gazette,* May 18, 1967. She apparently began investigating the state of China's literature and art as early as 1961, visiting the Peking No. 1 Peking Opera Company among others. See "Shachiapang, a Beacon Fire", *Chinese literature,* No. 3, 1967, op. cit.

contemporary themes.* For the young performers the situation was indeed trying. Here was the wife of Chairman Mao urging them in one direction, while their immediate superiors were assuring them that the staging of traditional operas was quite all right. And in any case, Chiang Ch'ing had brought with her no scripts on contemporary themes that could be adapted to the Peking Opera style. This, however, was soon to be corrected.

Realizing that she had no ability to write a Peking Opera on modern affairs, and that the prominent writers of the day belonged to the enemy camp, she began scouring the stage for suitable stories that could be adapted to her needs. Shanghai, the stronghold of Mao's staunch supporter K'o Ch'ing-shih, seemed particularly attractive. Following Mao's declaration on literature and art at the 10th Party Plenum, K'o called on New Year's Day, 1963, for the literary and artistic workers in Shanghai to "vigorously mirror the realities of the socialist revolution and socialist construction" of the 13 years of Communist rule in China. Furthermore, he urged them to sing the praises of the heroes among the workers, peasants, and soldiers.** From the repertoire of the Ai Hua Shanghai Theatrical Troupe, Chiang Ch'ing chose "The Red Lantern," and from the People's Shanghai Theatrical Troupe, the play "Spark Amid the Reeds" as basic scripts for a revolutionized Peking Opera. Thus armed, Chiang Ch'ing was ready to lay seige to the mighty fortress of Peking Opera.

On September 29, 1963, she appeared for the first time in nearly a decade in the full regalia of Communist China's First Lady. Accompanying Mao, she entertained the wife of the Indonesian President, Madame Sukarno.***

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* *Cultural Revolution Bulletin,* No. 11, May 1967, op. cit.
** Ibid.
*** *Hsinhua News Agency,* Peking, Sept. 29, 1963.

A photograph of the reception was published in *People's Daily* on September 30. Somewhat ahead of the times in fashion, she appeared at the reception in a trouser suit, looking the years that had passed since her last foray into public view but retaining her assured countenance and easy smile. Considering the situation at the time, the impending struggle that Mao had made inevitable with his speech at the 10th Party Plenum, it would be utterly incredible if her reappearance in public were not closely tied to the role she was destined to play in the reform of literature and art. Her presence at Mao's side drove home — to Peking Opera players in particular — the fact that when she spoke, she spoke not only as Chiang Ch'ing, late of the stage, but as Madame Mao.

The point needed to be made, for despite the tactical retreat by some of the forces arrayed against Mao, the opposition showed no sign of giving up the fight. In addition to Chou Yang's effort on October 19 to cover up any problems in literature and art, he approved the holding of a forum on Confucius in Shantung Province in November 1962. This forum was later to be described as a "counter-attack on the revolutionary spirit of the 10th Plenary Session of the Party Central Committee.* While K'o Ch'ing-shih in Shanghai was calling for the creation of literature and art stressing the 13 years of Communist rule, one of the leading officials of the Shanghai Party Committee and Director of the Shanghai Propaganda Department, Shih Hsi-min, was stressing the adjustment of old plays and declaring that "with the exception of the harmful ones, all kinds of drama may be staged."** In Peking, in April, Lin Mao-han, a Deputy Director of the party Propaganda Department, attacked the idea of portraying mainly the

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* *Chinese Literature,* No. 3, 1967, op. cit.
** *Cultural Revolution Bulletin,* No. 11, May 1967, op. cit.

13 years of Communist rule, arguing that that would confine subject matter to too narrow a scope. Mao, at the same time, repeatedly denounced traditional plays. He labeled the Ministry of Culture, run by Chou Yang, Ch'i Yen-ming, Hsia Yen and Lin Mo-han, as the "ministry of emperors and princes, generals and ministers, gifted scholars and beauties."* On March 8, 1963, according to accounts published during the Cultural Revolution, State Chairman Liu Shao-ch'i joined the battle by openly attacking Mao's criticism of the literary and art situation. "The problem is that many persons have been banned from staging plays," Liu was quoted as saying. "It is subjectivism and self-righteousness to pick the melons before they are ripe...Plays about contemporary life should be staged if contemporary life can be portrayed. But there is no need to change the words because the language of an era mirrors the thought of that era. Nowadays, the audience have the ability to judge things themselves."**

The resistance to the appeals from Mao and the pressures from Chiang Ch'ing extended to the highest levels of the cultural affairs organizations in the country. In the spring of 1963, Vice Minister of Culture Hsu P'ing-yu ignored Mao's criticism of plays about ghosts and allowed the China Peking Opera Troupe to stage "Lord Pao Goes to Hades." When criticized for this, he did not change his stand but merely warned those who supported the play: "You have voiced your view, but there is also someone (referring to Chiang Ch'ing) who advocates the banning of ghost plays."***

The first ostensible breach in the wall of opposition appears to have come in April, 1963. That month, Premier

* *Chinese Literature,* No. 3, 1967, op. cit.
** *Cultural Revolution Bulletin,* No. 11, Ibid.
*** Ibid.

Chou En-lai — already having sided with Mao in the dispute over literature and art — spoke to a conference of literary and art workers. He called on writers and artists to take an active part in the "class struggle" and to create literature and art that emphasized contemporary themes and the socialist revolution of the previous 13 years. The same month, the All-China Federation of Literary and Art Circles issued a call to oppose revisionism and promote contemporary life in cultural affairs. According to the history of the period as written in 1967, the Party's Propaganda Department and the Ministry of Culture "urged again and again by Comrade Chiang Ch'ing," issued a notification on the suspension of ghost plays. The following month, May, 1963, Chiang Ch'ing is said to have organized the publication of articles criticizing and repudiating the "theory that ghosts are harmless" in the Shanghai newspaper *Wen-hui Pao.**

Other articles critical of the writing and attitudes being published at the time also began to appear. In August, Ch'i Pen-yu attacked the *Autobiography of Li Hsiu-ch'eng.*** The next month Yao Wen-yuan wrote for the newspaper *Kuangming Daily* an article entitled "A Brief Discussion of the Question of the Spirit of the Age," condemning the theories disseminated by historian Chou Ku-ch'eng. Yet by late summer it was becoming increasingly evident that the breach in the wall was more illusion than fact. Following the publication of Ch'i Pen-yu's article, the Party Propaganda Department issued a directive saying Ch'i's article was politically wrong. Teng T'o, Chien Po-tsan and others

* *Cultural Revolution Bulletin,* No. 11, May, op. cit.
** *Historical Research,* No. 4, April 1963; also *Chinese Literature,* No. 3, 1967, op. cit. Li Hsiu-cheng (1823-1864) was a commander of a rebel army near the end of the Taip'ing Rebellion. He was captured on July 22, 1864, by troops loyal to the Ching throne. Cultural Revolution accounts claimed he traduced the Taip'ing Rebellion by writing his autobiography.

began writing articles to counter Ch'i's charges. It was apparently only with Mao's direct intervention that Ch'i Pen-yu was rescued from the tiger's claws.*

Behind the scenes the struggle was growing even more intense. Despite the outward withdrawal of support for traditional themes by the All-China Federation of Literary and Art Circles, by the Party Propaganda Department and the Ministry of Culture, the leaders ensconced in those organizations did not give up. Liu Shao-ch'i, Teng Hsiao-p'ing, P'eng Chen, Chou Yang and a bevy of other high-ranking, influential men sternly held that historical tradition should not be totally discarded. On the question of revolutionizing drama, Liu Shao-ch'i is reported to have said: "It is necessary to retain two types of operas. One is to use the ancient to serve the present; the other is to sum up historical experience."** P'eng Chen minced no words in expressing his view of plays on modern themes. He likened them to wearing "baby's trousers," and "sucking fingers." Teng Hsiao-p'ing took a less strident stand, arguing for some kind of compromise. "New plays which are good are few," he observed. "Let us continue to perform classical plays ...I am all for reforming the opera, but I do not want to hear any more about it." Chou Yang, on the other hand, reacted angrily. He tried to suppress K'o Ch'ing-shih's call for staging plays on contemporary themes, declaring that traditional and historical plays were harmless and that "not all our ancestors were despicable swine."***

To all of this, we are told, Chiang Ch'ing and her backers such as K'ang Sheng, Ch'i Pen-yu and Yao Wen-yuan, waged a tit-for-tat struggle. On the criticism of plays

* *Chinese Literature,* No. 3, 1967, op. cit. The report on this incident says that the attack on Ch'i and the plot to disgrace him "was discovered and curbed in good time by Chairman Mao."
** *Chingkang-shan,* May 25, 1967, op. cit.
*** Ibid.

on contemporary themes, Chiang Ch'ing declared: "New plays do not represent half of the total number, yet some people have already called for walking on two legs" (the use of both the old and new).* Later she stated flatly: "We can't stage the classical plays...I have broken away from these plays...For the past 10 years and more we still have devoted efforts to promoting classical sentiments. This is a question of [political] stand."** Though not taking part in this running battle, Mao was, nevertheless, in the background serving as the clever, cunning adviser to the lady general as well as propagating his views on proper literature and art. In his talks at various Party work conferences during the year, he stressed the need to view every problem in terms of class struggle, and warned that in changing literature and art the old should be superceded by the new and not by the old. But the period of talk was rapidly drawing to a close. Chiang Ch'ing, in the vanguard, was preparing for decisive action.

There were many Peking Opera organizations that Chiang Ch'ing could have selected for the experiment with stories on contemporary themes. The two best known, however, were the Peking No. 1 Peking Opera Company, and the China Peking Opera Institute. Working with the former were such well-known performers as Ma Lien-liang, Tan Fu-ying, Chang Chun-chiu, Ch'iu Sheng-jung and Chao Yen-shia. The No. 1 Company was under the direction of the Peking Municipal People's Council, and obviously controlled by P'eng Chen.

The Institute boasted such stars as Li Shao-chun, Yuan Shih-hai, Tu Ch'in-fang, Yih Sheng-lan and Chang Yun-chi. It was under the control of the Ministry of Culture. Certainly Chiang Ch'ing would have found the going easier

* *Chingkang-shan,* May 25, 1967, op. cit.
** Ibid.

had she tried to introduce revolutionary Peking Opera first in Shanghai, or some other city. The challenge she brought to Peking was the challenge to P'eng Chen, the Mayor of the Capital, to Chou Yang, and to the Ministry of Culture. As she later explained the move: "If you don't go into the tiger's lair, how can you get the cub?"*

In the autumn of 1963, Chiang Ch'ing again visited the Peking No. 1 Peking Opera Company. Proper protocol would have dictated that she gain permission from the Peking Municipal Party Committee to use the No. 1 Company in her experiment. She apparently did not.

Nor on her arrival did she look for the responsible officials of the company. She simply called the young performers to a meeting and told them in no uncertain terms that the traditional dramas they had been staging for years were bad and unsuited to the times. "After the lapse of more than 10 years since liberation," she said, "you are still playing the roles of landlords and their wives. Is this not disgraceful? I have definitely divorced myself from such plays. The No. 1 Peking Opera Company should do likewise and should try to stage operas on contemporary themes."** Among those listening to her remarks that day was a young man named Tan Yuan-shou, the son of Tan Fu-ying, one of the China's most famous Peking Opera stars. Tan Yuan-shou, Cultural Revolution history claims, had tried to introduce contemporary themes to Peking Opera as far back as 1958, but was repeatedly rebuffed. Chiang Ch'ing heard of this and sought him out for her cause. "We should do what our predecessors did not do," she

* *Chingkang-shan*, May 25, 1967, op. cit.

** "Old Peking Municipal Party Committee Cannot Escape Responsibility for Undermining Peking Opera Reform", Chun Hung, Peking Opera No. 1 Company, *People's Daily*, May 26, 1967.

told him. "We must be the ones to blaze the trail."* Tan Yuan-shou thus became Chiang Ch'ing's close collaborator in the attempt to revolutionize the operas performed by the No. 1 Company. After the Cultural Revolution was formally launched and when the old Peking Municipal Committee was thrown out and a "Revolutionary Committee" named in its place, Tan received his reward by being appointed to it.

During the next few weeks Chiang Ch'ing frequently visited the opera company, talking individually to the young members of the troupe. She approached them not in the manner of scolding them for their past errors, but with encouragement and the sympathy of a patient, understanding teacher. On one visit, she presented the members of the company with autographed copies of Mao's selected works. She advised them to study Mao's "Talks at the Yenan Forum on Literature and Art" and his essay "On Practice." Eventually she handed over to them the script of the Shanghai opera "Spark Amid the Reeds" and asked them to adapt it and present it at the festival of Peking Opera on Contemporary Themes scheduled for the summer of that year.** At the same time, she made the purpose of her request perfectly clear: "Don't think that I am just here promoting theatrical performances. I am here engaged in a battle against feudalism, capitalism and revisionism."***

For the young performers of the Peking No. 1 Peking Opera Company, unwittingly dragged into the conflict between Mao Tse-tung and the overlords of China's literature

* "Whole-heartedly Serve Workers, Peasants and Soldiers and Be Peking Opera Reform Path Breakers", by Tan Yuan-shou, *People's Daily*, May 11, 1967.

** This play was selected by Mao and Chiang Ch'ing in September 1963. As disclosed in the article "Mao Tse-tung's Thought Illuminates the Road to Peking Opera Reform", *Kuangming Daily*, June 5, 1967.

*** *Chingkang-shan*, May 25, 1967, op. cit.

and art, there could have been little doubt about the seriousness of the battle of which Chiang Ch'ing spoke. They were, in short order, to become the ground upon which that fight would be waged. The immediate concern, however, was to make the adaptation of "Spark Amid the Reeds." Those entrusted with the task were performers, not script writers; and despite Chiang Ch'ing's presence, they were still controlled by the leadership of the company. Their first try fully reflected this fact. The initial script they turned out was given the title "The Underground Liaison Agent." The principal role was that of sister Ah Ching, which was given to Chang Chun-chiu. After seeing the dress rehearsal based on this script, Chiang Ch'ing was furious. She said the opera was not based on the script she had given them and insisted that the original title be retained.* She sent for the Shanghai People's Opera Troupe to watch the performance. The script was revised.

Female impersonators were a traditional part of Peking Opera performances. Many of China's greatest Peking Opera stars, in fact, were those who had specialized in Femme mimic. So it was not really surprising that when the script of "Spark Amid the Reeds" was put into Peking Opera form, roles of some women were given actors like Chang Chun-chiu. But this also did not set well with Chiang Ch'ing. "Female impersonation is a product of feudal society," she told the opera troupe. "It would be a strange phenomenon for female impersonation to appear on a Socialist stage. Such impersonation would undermine operas on revolutionary contemporary themes."**

The conflicts that arose in the course of trying to adapt

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* *Chinese Literature*, No. 3, 1967, op. cit.
** *People's Daily*, May 26, 1967, op. cit.

the play were significant, but mostly because they were indicative of the greater conflicts in the leadership that resulted from Chiang Ch'ing's bold attempt to enter the tiger's lair.

CHAPTER IX
EMPIRES WAX AND WANE*

Chiang Ch'ing's arrival at the Peking No. 1 Peking Opera Company stirred into action P'eng Chen and the other advocates of a more moderate policy on literature and art. Through their control of China's major news media, they were able to impose a news blackout on her activities. According to one account, they refused to announce her statements and directives under the guise of "protecting state secrets."** When articles appeared on developments in the country's literary and artistic circles, no mention was made of her. There is even one report that P'eng Chen and his followers sent people to the No. 1 Company to watch Chiang Ch'ing's activities.***

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* The title of this chapter comes from the first line of the Chinese classic *San Kuo Chih Yen-i* (usually translated, *Romance of the Three Kingdoms*) a 14th century novel of the inevitable change that affects all men and things. The second part of the opening verse is: States cleave asunder and coalesce. For China, the period detailed in this chapter was the period when the empire of the old literary forces began to wane, and the nation began to cleave asunder.

** *Chingkang-shan,* May 25, 1967, op. cit.

*** Ibid.

A report published during the Cultural Revolution as part of the criticism campaign against P'eng Chen shed considerable light on the attempt to block Chiang Ch'ing's efforts. It is worth quoting at length:

> The counter-revolutionary revisionist elements of the old Peking Municipal Party Committee upheld the feudalist old Peking operas as they worshipped gods on the one hand and hated the new Peking operas on contemporary themes on the other. They vilified the new operas, placed obstacle after obstacle in their way, undermined Peking Opera reform and dealt blows to Comrade Chiang Ch'ing who persisted in implementing the policy of revolutionizing literature and art. They colluded with a handful of the members of the Peking No. 1 Peking Opera Company in authority taking the capitalist road to spread a gloomy atmosphere, shoot arrows clandestinely, disrupt relations between one member and another, vilify others, practice all kinds of base things and even create difficulties in finance. Leading the revolutionary masses resolutely to wage struggle, Comrade Chiang Ch'ing finally broke up the bastion of the field of Peking Opera. However, the counter-revolutionary revisionist elements were saddened, as if they had lost their parents. To counteract the great revolutionary effects of Comrade Chiang Ch'ing's achievements...these elements went about getting troupes to play a few old Peking operas rearranged by themselves to stubbornly uphold the policy of staging 'mainly new historical plays.'*

Among other things, despite Chiang Ch'ing's criticism of female impersonation, Chang Chun-chiu still was given a

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* "Thoroughly Reckon Accounts with the Old Peking Municipal Party Committee's Towering Crime of Underming the Reform in Peking Opera," *Kuangming Daily,* Jan. 7, 1967.

role in "Spark Amid the Reeds" when it first appeared. (But at the Festival of Peking Opera on Contemporary Themes, due to Chiang Ch'ing's persistent criticism, Chang was replaced by Chao Yen-chia, a woman.) One of the operas presented at the Festival by P'eng and his group was "Tu Chuan Shan," written by Teng T'o, former Chief Editor of *People's Daily*. Later Teng wrote an article praising the opera as the best at the Festival. The *People's Daily* on June 4, 1964, lauded the two leading actors of this opera, Ma Lien-laing and Ch'iu Sheng-jung.

Despite the obstacles placed in the way, the opera "Spark Amid the Reeds" was staged publicly for the first time in March, 1964. The Peking Municipal Party Committee discussed the showing, and one member remarked: "The Peking operas on contemporary themes are like pure boiled water [tasteless]." They were, these men felt, little more than "stage plays in dialogue plus singing." Chiang Ch'ing, then in Shanghai, heard of the remarks and commented: "They are simply ignorant people. What is wrong with pure boiled water? Only when you have pure boiled water can you make tea and wine. No one can live without pure boiled water. What is wrong with dialogue plus singing? Peking operas have always been dialogue plays with singing. Without dialogue and singing, what would an opera consist of?"*

In November, 1963, Chiang Ch'ing took the second play she had selected, "The Red Lantern," to the China Peking Opera Institute. As with the No. 1 Company, she asked the performers at the Institute to adapt the story. The leading performers with the Institute were all Party members, including Li Shao-chun, Yuan Shih-hai, and Tu

* "Chairman Mao's 'Talk at the Yenan Forum on Literature and Art Is a Program for Building a Mighty, Proletarian Cultural Army," by Chi Pen-yu, *People's Daily*, May 24, 1967.

Ch'in-fang. Chiang Ch'ing particularly wanted these actors to participate in the staging of "The Red Lantern" because of their acting ability and their status as Party members. But troubles beset her well-thought-out plans from the very beginning. Li Shao-chun fell sick; Tu Ch'in-fang went on a tour of foreign countries. Other, lesser known actors were called on to play the roles she had hoped Li and Tu would fill.* Within the Opera Institute were a number of individuals who reacted violently to Chiang Ch'ing's meddling. They cursed her behind her back. They withheld the suggestions she made on the adaptation. They refused to use lines of the play she personally had revised. They even ignored her directives that characters should be given prominence.** During one of the early rehearsals, Chiang Ch'ing quarreled with Ah Chia, the director. He wanted to delete the scene of the "escape from the congee shed" in the original script. Chiang Ch'ing insisted that it be retained. The director thought that the three principal characters should have an equal share of the spotlight, while Chiang Ch'ing wanted to give prominence to Li Yu-ho's role.*** The director was determined to emphasize Li Tien-mei's part in the singing; Li Yu-ho's part was played by a warrior-type actor who was not adept at singing. Ah Chia argued that the role of the revolutionary successor should be emphasized (that was the part of Li Tien-mei, the daughter of the hero). Chiang Ch'ing disagreed and argued: "Without revolution-

* Li was replaced by Chien Hao-liang and Tu by Liu Chang-yu. Neither had the appeal of Li and Tu. At the Festival of Peking Opera on Revolutionary Contemporary Themes a few months later, the Harbin Peking Opera Troupe staged the "Red Lantern" under the title "Revolution Has Successors." The Harbin Troupe's presentation was far better than that of the Peking Opera Institute.

** *Chingkang-shan*, May 25, 1967, op. cit.

*** "The Red Lantern" is the story of the struggle waged by Li Yu-ho, a railway worker and an underground Party member, and his mother and daughter against the Japanese in Northeast China to send a secret code to the Communist guerrillas.

ary predecessors, how can there be revolutionary successors?*

Conflict marked virtually every step in making the preparations for the staging of "The Red Lantern." On the question of the style of singing, the director wanted an elderly male actor to play the part of Li Yu-ho, but Chiang Ch'ing said the part should be handled in the manner of Chou Yu (always a young and militant character). "You all have acted in the traditional Peking Opera," she told the performers at the Institute. "How old was Chou Yu. Why did he always appear so young? It seems that not only the plot but costume, music, and style of singing were so planned as to serve this one character and build his image. When we play the roles of workers, peasants and soldiers today, why can't we do the same for them?"** On and on, scene by scene and song by song, the struggle went. Chiang Ch'ing found occasion to criticize and comment on everything. After watching Kao Yu-ts'ien's portrayal of Yu-ho's mother, Chiang Ch'ing barked: "Have you changed the character's personality? Old lady Li was a poor woman, wearing torn clothes. A poor woman labors all day. Her clothes do not get torn first in the area around the stomach but in the legs and arms. You have mended your clothes at the wrong places. I cannot blame you because you have not lived the life of a poor woman."***

The difficulties Chiang Ch'ing encountered, however, were not limited merely to technical matters in the effort to adapt "The Red Lantern" to Peking Opera style. There were, moreover, direct attempts to sabotage her work. P'eng Chen, Lin Mo-han, Chi Yen-ming and those in charge of the performers at the Institute were all involved. An

* *Chingkang-shan,* May 25, 1967, op. cit.
** "History on Demonstrative Opera", by Kung Chi, *Wen Hui Pao,* Hong Kong, July 23, 1967.
*** Ibid.

article that appeared during the Cultural Revolution revealed the nature of this opposition. "They (P'eng and group) stubbornly objected to the reform. They kept Chiang Ch'ing's directives and intentions from being known to the broad masses of cadres and revolutionary people. They held the rotten corpse of traditional operas in their arms and refused to give it up. They shouted repeatedly, 'After undertaking the operas on contemporary themes, we will take up classic dramas.'" They decided to stage a dress rehearsal of classic drama once every month, without giving public performances, in another attempt to block Chiang Ch'ing. "Those reactionary 'authorities' also waved the Red Flag to oppose the Red Flag and plotted a class reconciliatory modern play, 'The Daughter of the Commune's Head' in a reckless attempt to squeeze out 'The Red Lantern'. It was only under pressure that 'The Red Lantern' was finally placed on the agenda for public view."*

The battle Chiang Ch'ing was waging against the traditional Peking Opera was not, however, being fought in isolation. There remained the larger war encompassing the entire front of China's literature and art, the other forms of Chinese opera, ballet, stage plays. At the same time that she tackled the Peking No. 1 Peking Opera Company and the China Peking Opera Institute, Chiang Ch'ing passed on to the Chinese Stage Songs Research Institute the Honan opera "Chao Yang Ditch." This story, too, was to be adapted to Peking Opera form. But Lin Mo-han and Chang Keng again tried to stand in her way. They refused to pass on her directives and suggestions; they "conspired" against the adaptation by refusing to let the story be put

* Long Live the Victory of the Boundless, Bright Mao Tse-tung's Revolutionary Line on Literature and Art", by Tu Ch'in-fang, *Red Flag,* No. 9, 1967.

into Peking Opera style and by imposing Honan and Szechuan styles of singing so that the play became a truly mongrelized production. In the end, it had to be abandoned. And this was used to serve the purposes of those who objected to the use of contemporary themes in Peking Opera. The failure of "Chao Yang Ditch," argued Li Mohan and Chang Keng, simply reflected "the difficulty in expressing contemporary themes in Peking Opera" and the problem of trying to take "too big strides."* Reacting to this criticism, Chiang Ch'ing told her protagonists: "That is not correct. You did not take too big strides; you simply took sideward steps."** While this was happening, Chou Yang and Chang Keng were using the Experimental Drama League to prepare modern plays designed to foster their own conception of what China's "Socialist drama" should be. A play praising North China Bureau was the main vehicle in this movement. Chou and Chang put this play forth as an appropriate trademark of the Chinese Stage Songs Research Institute, a worthy example of plays on modern contemporary themes that should be emulated nationally. But as Cultural Revolution history would have it, Chiang Ch'ing stopped the staging of this drama and repudiated the opposition arguments revolving around the failure of "Chao Yang Ditch."***

At the end of 1963, after she had kindled the sparks of reform in the No. 1 Peking Opera Company and the China Peking Opera Institute, Chiang Ch'ing moved on, with the intemperance of a modern-day Carrie Nation, to attack the other forms of Chinese drama. She suggested

* "Mao Tse-tung's Thought Illuminates the Revolutionary Line for Peking Opera", by the Revolutionary Commune of the Chinese Drama and Songs Research Institute, Peking, *Kuangming Daily*, June 5, 1967.
** Ibid.
*** Ibid.

to the Peking and Shanghai Ballet Troupes that they jointly rehearse the ballets "The Red Detachment of Women" and "The White-haired Girl,"* two plays on revolutionary contemporary themes. Again she stirred the hornets nest. This time it was Liu Shao-ch'i who answered her challenge. "We cannot have forced reflection of contemporary life," he declared. "Contemporary life cannot necessarily be reflected in ballet and foreign operas."**

The turn of the year heralded the growing conflict with two significant developments. In late December 1963 Mao commented on a report by K'o Ch'ing-shih concerning the reform of story-telling and balladry. "Problems abound in all forms of art such as drama, ballads, music, the fine arts, the dance, the cinema, poetry and literature, and the people involved are numerous; in many departments very little has been achieved so far in socialist transformation. The 'dead' still dominate in many departments. Isn't it absurd that many Communists are enthusiastic about promoting feudal and capitalist art?"***

On January 3 of the new year, Liu Shao-ch'i and Party General-Secretary Teng Hsiao-p'ing called a symposium on literature and art in the name of Party Central Committee. This meeting was held ostensibly to discuss and make preparations for implementing Mao's call for reform. In fact, it was used to try to paper over the problems Mao had raised. In his address at the symposium, Chou Yang dismissed the criticism by declaring the mistakes in literature and art as a "failure on some occasions to exercise a tight enough grip on work" and a "failure to make enough effort in cultivating and affirming" the new things of social-

* *Chingkang-shan*, May 25, 1967, op. cit.
** Ibid.
*** Ibid. Also *Chinese Literature*, No. 3, 1967, op. cit.

ism.* Liu Shao-ch'i addressed himself to Chou Yang's remarks — which he readily approved — and added: "The question is one of comprehension for the great majority in literary and art circles. There also are some who are double-minded and anti-Party. They must be criticized, but must not be opposed as though they are rightists."** Again the opposition began laying out the barricades and barbed wire, refusing to be intimidated or cowed. Through the spring of 1964 numerous meetings were held in various parts of the country to examine, and confirm as basically acceptable, the works that had been produced in previous years. Lip-service was paid to the promotion of works on contemporary themes. The Maoists, using the journal *Red Flag,* continued the effort to propagate Mao's viewpoint.

In the spring of 1964, Chiang Ch'ing went to the Workers, Peasants and Soldiers Ballet Troupe and asked them to perform "The Red Detachment of Women." Lin Mo-han met this thrust by urging the troupe to perform "Ta-chi and Her Father," a ballet later condemned for publicizing and extolling "bourgeois human nature." Vice Minister of Culture Hsu P'ing-yu joined the fight and in March announced to a meeting of ballet performers: "Don't desist from staging 'Swan Lake' just because 'The Red Detachment of Women' is being staged. This would bring great losses...You must never discard the past repertorie."*** In the midst of this storm, Chiang Ch'ing left Peking for Shanghai to rest and recuperate from the fatigue created by her constant endeavors to reform the nation's literature and art.

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* "The Tempestuous Combat on the Literary and Art Front", *Capital Red Guards* (a Red Guard tabloid), Peking, June 7, 1967, reproduced in *Current Background,* No. 842, Dec. 8, 1967, American Consulate General, Hong Kong.

** *Capital Red Guards,* June 7, 1967, op. cit.

*** *Cultural Revolution Bulletin,* No. 11, May 1967, op. cit.

Though the lady general had taken leave, the battle went on. In April, 1964, the Liberation Army held its Third Literary and Art Festival in Peking. After that festival, Lin Piao, in May, sent instructions to the departments in charge of literature and art in the army. "The object of proletarian literature and art is to unite and educate the people, inspire the revolutionary struggle, disintegrate and wipe out the enemy, and carry out the struggle for promoting what is proletarian and eradicating what is bourgeois," Lin said. "Our works of art must be revolutionized and militant in content. With the thought of Mao Tse-tung as the guiding principle, they must mirror realistic life and serve the workers, peasants and soldiers. This is the steadfast and unswerving orientation."*

The same month, P'eng Chen hailed the Peking Opera "On the Bank of the Chienkan River." This was said to have been done to oppose Chiang Ch'ing's reform operas "The Red Lantern" and "Spark Amid the Reeds." When P'eng was told that Chiang Ch'ing had criticized the opera "On the Bank" as one in which "the force of the opposite side is too frantic, and the upright is unable to overcome the crooked," P'eng is said to have assured the performers of the opera: "Have no fear that the opposite side [Chiang Ch'ing's] will overwhelm you!"** Despite his outward confidence, P'eng and those attempting to protect the old attitude toward literature and art had cause to ponder the new situation. Their attempts to stymie Chiang Ch'ing's campaign to "revolutionize" the arts had been, at best, only partially successful. More to the point, they had succeeded in slowing her drive but not in preventing the introduction of reforms. In the People's Liberation Army, through the impetus provided by Lin Piao, greater strides were being

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* *Cultural Revolution Bulletin,* No. 11, May 1967, op. cit.

** Ibid.

made toward reform. *Red Flag,* under the direction of Chen Po-ta, the military paper *Liberation Army Daily* and the two Shanghai papers, *Wen-hui Pao* and *Liberation Daily,* gave public airing to Mao's concepts of proper literature and art in the socialist era. And, perhaps most significant of all, the first national festival of revolutionized Peking Opera was about to begin.

The Festival of Peking Opera on Contemporary Themes opened in the Great Hall of the People in Peking on the afternoon of June 5, 1964. Some 5,000 people attended the opening, including Lu Ting-yi, K'ang Sheng, Kuo Mo-jo, Minister of Culture Shen Yen-ping (Mao Tun), and the famous Peking Opera stars Hsiao Chang-hua, Chiang Miao-hsiang, Kai Chiao-tien, Chou Hsin-fang and Ma Lien-liang, who were mentioned by name in the official reports.

Representatives from 28 Peking Opera companies from 19 provinces, cities, and autonomous regions also were on hand. During the Festival that was to last until July 31, a total of 37 operas were presented, 23 dealing with China's post-Communist period. The remainder were based on themes of past "revolutionary struggles."* To all outward appearances, the cultural hierarchy in China was fully behind — in fact, even promoting — the introduction of contemporary themes. In his address at the opening meeting Lu Ting-yi accepted the idea of Peking operas on contemporary themes, serving the workers, peasants, and soldiers. Of more interest, however, were his remarks on the overall development of Peking Opera. "We are not opposed to traditional plays which are good," he explained, "and we appreciate new historical plays written from a historical materialist point of view and of educational significance, particularly those on historical subjects since

* *Hsinhua News Agency,* English, Peking, June 5, 1967.

the Opium War."* Official accounts of the opening of the Festival reported that "cultural institutions and actors, musicians and playwrights of Peking Opera" had made "considerable efforts to record and preserve the best in the treasury of traditional Chinese opera and passed it on to young actors."** The famous Peking Opera stars Mei Lan-fang, Chou Hsin-fang, and Ma Lien-liang were singled out for praise. The use of operas on contemporary themes was hailed as a means of broadening and enriching the art of Peking Opera. In the future, "plays on contemporary themes, traditional items, and new historical plays will co-exist. The art of Peking Opera will be enriched, becoming able to depict ancient and present times, to depict patriotism and socialism, and to depict historical figures and contemporaries, particularly the workers, peasants and soldiers."***

Only in retrospect, in light of disclosures made during the Cultural Revolution, could the full meaning of those comments be understood. Mao had called for, and his able lieutenants had sought to bring about, a thorough reform of China's literature and art. Yet here were the lords of China's culture not repudiating the old but indeed praising it. Outwardly they bowed to the Maoist demands for reform; in effect, they continued to promote the old styles and to protect the developments of the previous years. Publicity was given only to the speeches and comments made by those who supported the established cultural leadership. Chiang Ch'ing's address at a symposium on June 23, 1964, attended by theatrical artists and workers taking part in the festival, entitled "On the Revolution of

* *Hsinhua,* June 5, 1967, op. cit.
** Ibid.
*** Ibid.

Peking Opera," was not reported.* Nor was any special attention given to the two operas with which she had been directly involved: "The Red Lantern" and "Spark Amid the Reeds."

In her speech at the symposium Chiang Ch'ing made clear that the new emphasis had to be on revolutionary themes, that even if the old plays were allowed to exist they could do so only in revised, sanitized forms. She said:

> "It is inconceivable that the dominating positions on the stage throughout our socialist country, which is led by the Chinese Communist Party, should not be occupied by the workers, peasants and soldiers, the real creators of history and the true masters of our country. We should create literature and art which protect our socialist economic base...It is not true that we don't want historical operas...Historical operas portraying the life and struggle of the people before our Party came into being are also needed...Of course, we should take up historical operas only on the condition that the carrying out of the main task (of portraying contemporary life and creating images of workers, peasants and soldiers) is not impeded...It is not true either that traditional operas are not needed. Except for operas acclaiming ghosts or acts of capitulation and treachery, good traditional operas can be staged freely. But, these traditional operas will have no audience worth mentioning unless they are carefully edited and revised."**

In light of later developments, even these modest compromises seem to have been little more than tactical concessions. The intent remained evident: complete reform.

* It was not until May, 1967, nearly three years later, that the full text of her speech was made public, first in *Red Flag* and later in various Chinese news outlets including the *Hsinhua News Agency*, May 9, 1967.

** Ibid.

During the Cultural Revolution, reports on the festival singled out four operas for special praise. Two of them were those backed by Chiang Ch'ing. The other two were "Raid on the White Tiger Regiment" presented by the Shantung Provincial Peking Opera Troupe and "Taking the Bandit's Stronghold" performed by the Shanghai Peking Opera Institute. Both were operas which originally appeared in 1958. Mao is said to have seen these four operas during the festival and given his approval of them.

At the symposium Chiang Ch'ing addressed on June 23, Premier Chou En-lai called on everyone to "whip up a revolution in theatrical circles" by relying on Mao's instructions.* He urged literary and artistic workers to go down to the grassroots level to learn from the masses. Four days later, commenting on a report prepared by the Party Propaganda Department concerning the rectification campaign in the All-China Federation of Literary and Art Circles, Mao again pressed his demands:

> In the last fifteen years, these associations [under the Federation], most of their publications (it is said that a few of them are good), and by and large the people in them (that is, not everybody) have not carried out the policies of the Party. They have acted as high and mighty bureaucrats, have not gone to the workers, peasants and soldiers, and have not reflected the socialist revolution and socialist construction. In recent years they have slid right down to the brink of revisionism. Unless they remold themselves in real earnest, at some future date they are bound to become groups like the Hungarian Petofi Club.**

These were stern words indeed, a warning pregnant with

* *Capital Red Guards* June 7, 1967, op. cit.

** Ibid.

ominous implications for those involved in the groups that had "slid right down to the brink of revisionism." They signaled, moreover, the beginning of the true revolution in China's culture; they signaled, in fact, the beginning of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in which Chiang Ch'ing was to play such an important role.

CHAPTER X
TESTING THE WALL

The reaction to Mao's evaluation of the nation's literary and artistic work and to the heated debate rapidly reaching an explosion point was immediate and revealing. Mao made his comments on June 27, 1964. Less than a week later, on July 2, a meeting of the various unions of the Federation of Literary and Art Circles was called by the Party Propaganda Department — at the direction of Chou Yang — to make preparations for a rectification campaign. From July 3-10 the Party organization of the Ministry of Culture held sessions to make self-criticisms. At the meeting of the unions of the Federation, Chou Yang admitted a need to look for problems, but covered his tracks by declaring that "so far at least, no leading group has yet been discovered to have promoted revisionism in the political field." The self-examination of the Party committee in the Ministry of Culture summed up the situation as one in which the chief mistake in cultural work was the "failure to implement energetically and carry out well the general and specific policies of the Central Committee." On July 11, the Ministry of Culture began its

own ostensible "rectification campaign."*

Chiang Ch'ing, meanwhile, had returned to Shanghai where, on doctors' instructions, she was supposed to have rested and divorced herself from the intense concern over and involvement in the revolutionization of China's culture. However, as Cultural Revolution accounts had it, "as a close comrade-in-arms of Chairman Mao and a Communist Party member," she could not stand to see "ghosts and spirits dominate literature and art and the stage and see the poisonous weeds spread unchecked."** She devoted a great deal of time to reviewing and altering the four operas "Spark Amid the Reeds," "The Red Lantern," "Raid on the White Tiger Regiment," and "Taking the Bandit's Stronghold." After Mao had seen "Spark Amid the Reeds" he suggested that the name be changed to "Shachiapang" (the name of the village where the story takes place).*** Chiang Ching actively promoted this alteration. Also while in Shanghai she saw "Harbor's Morning," a stage play of a Huai nationality theatrical troupe, and asked the Shanghai Peking Opera Institute to adapt it as a Peking Opera using the title "On the Docks."

While the struggle over cultural matters dominated the scene, Chiang Ch'ing was waging another battle: one closer to home and one saturated with female vanity. During the years she had remained out of public sight, and especially during the period from 1958 to 1964, Chiang Ch'ing's status as First Lady of the land had been usurped by Wang Kuang-mei, the attractive, erudite, active wife of State Chairman Liu Shao-ch'i. It would be unfair, given the information available, to suggest that Madame Liu deliberately plotted and schemed her way into the position of

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* *Capital Red Guards,* June 7, 1967, op. cit.
** *Chingkang-shan,* May 25, 1967, op. cit.
*** Ibid.

being China's most prominent lady.* Chiang Ch'ing, after-all, had not been seen in public for years, apparently the result of her own, or Mao's, desire. From 1959, after Liu Shao-ch'i became Head of State, it was his responsibility to greet and entertain visiting dignitaries. At these public receptions, Wang Kuang-mei nearly always accompanied her husband. On his trips to other countries she again made a practice of being at his side and consequently was in the limelight.**

This situation first began to change on September 29, 1963, when Chiang Ch'ing appeared with Mao at the reception for Indonesian President Sukarno's wife. Yet Chiang Ch'ing still seemed to prefer the background, or perhaps had no other choice, for although she was at that time increasingly active in cultural affairs, she was not reported in public at Mao's side again until China's National Day celebrations on October 1, 1964.

Much ado was made by foreign commentators during the Cultural Revolution over the alleged rivalry between the two "First" ladies. In part this was due to Red Guard denunciations of Liu Shao-ch'i and his wife, which drew attention to the assumed conflict between the two women. A Red Guard poster which appeared in Peking in January, 1967, for example, quoted a purported statement by Chiang Ch'ing berating Wang Kuang-mei for the way she dressed during a 1963 visit to Indonesia. "Wavering as to whether or not to wear a necklace in visiting Indonesia," Chiang

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* Two other prominent and politically-active wives at that time were Teng Ying-chao, wife of Premier Chou En-lai, and Tsai Chang, wife of Vice Premier Li Fu-chun. Both have survived the Cultural Revolution.

** Mao, of course, has travelled abroad on only two occasions in his life: to the Soviet Union in 1950 and again in 1957. There is no evidence that Chiang Ch'ing ever travelled outside China. There was a Western news agency report in Sept., 1957 that she visited Japan with Marshall Ho Lung's wife, but this was never confirmed and apparently was not true.

Ch'ing was quoted as saying, "she (Madame Liu) came to consult me. I answered that as a member of the Communist Party, I was against her wearing a necklace, although she could wear a foreign dress as she was the wife of the Chief of State. And yet she wore a necklace!"* Other Red Guard reports claimed that in early 1967 Chiang Ch'ing ordered the distribution of photographs showing Wang Kuang-mei — dressed in her "bourgeois" best — walking arm-in-arm with Sukarno. This was, of course, material to aid the criticism of Madame Liu.

It seems unlikely that so much attention would be devoted to the specifics of a rivalry were there not some basis of fact to it. Whether the rivalry stemmed from the conflict between the two husbands, or more directly from vanity, is difficult to say. But certainly there are indications that the two leading ladies of the nation were staking their fortunes on the outcome of the struggle — however ill-defined at the time — between Mao and Liu.

Just as Chiang Ch'ing had moved into the fight over cultural affairs in support of Mao, Wang Kuang-mei stepped into the more general political fray brewing at the time in aid of her husband. In the winter of 1962, a political rectification campaign called the Socialist Education Movement began in China's rural areas. The campaign involved what Peking called the "Four Clean-Ups" movement which aimed at the rectification of politics, ideology, economy, and organization. Early in November, 1963, Wang Kuang-mei changed her name to Tung Pu and led a "Four Clean-Ups" work team to the Peach Garden Main Brigade of Lu Wang Chuang Commune in Fu Ning county, Hopei province. After spending several months there she returned

* *Asahi Shimbun*, Tokyo, Jan. 23, 1967. Also see "Down With Liu Shao-ch'i", Chingkang Shan Fighting Corps of the Fourth Hospital, Peking Municipality, in *Current Background*, No. 834, Aug. 17, 1967, American Consulate General, Hong Kong.

to Peking and prepared a written report entitled "Four Clean-Ups at the Peach Garden Fortress." Liu Shao-ch'i handed her report over to the Party Central Committee, which used it as the basis for formulating new instructions on carrying out the rectification campaign. During the Cultural Revolution, her report was criticized as being a program for the restoration of capitalism in the rural areas.

By 1964, then, both Chiang Ch'ing and Wang Kuang-mei were increasingly active in political affairs. In the autumn of that year, both were elected as deputies to the Third National People's Congress that convened in December, 1964. Chiang Ch'ing was elected from her native province of Shantung; Wang Kuang-mei from Hopei. Until her final disgrace in late 1966, Wang Kuang-mei continued to be politically active. In June and July, 1966, when Tsing Hua University in Peking was carrying out the Cultural Revolution, it was Wang Kuang-mei who led the work team at the school. It was, however, to be her last political role.

By the autumn of 1964, the rectification campaign in literary and artistic circles was in full swing. China's newspapers and magazines were printing large numbers of articles re-evaluating and criticizing works that had appeared as long as 25 years before. Some of the men dominating China's literature and art — Shao Ch'uan-lin, Ouyang Shan, Yang Han-sheng, Hsia Yen, Chang Shui-hua and Chu Pai-yin — came under fire. Resistance, however, remained strong. The Propaganda Department of the Central Committee organized an investigation group headed by Chao Chin and Su Ling-yang (Chou Yang's wife) and sent it to the Ministry of Culture to help the Party committee of that Ministry in its rectification. This was said to have been done for the purpose of controlling the situation.* Lin Mo-han, meanwhile, had been instructed by Mao to unfold

* *Capital Red Guards, Peking*, June 7, 1967, op. cit.

discussions among the teachers and students of the Central Conservatory of Music to examine the conservatory's problems. This directive was basically ignored.*

In addition to her efforts to further revise the four Peking Operas on contemporary themes, 1964 saw Chiang Ch'ing pressing ahead with the revolutionary ballet "Red Detachment of Women". Chou Yang and his followers tried to halt the reform of ballet by describing it as "the imposition of proletarian dictatorship on the masses ending in the production of something which is neither Chinese nor Western, neither fish nor fowl."** The Workers, Peasants, Soldiers Ballet Troupe, which had been given the task of preparing the "Red Detachment," was finding it an arduous task. Orders came from above for the troupe to begin rehearsing "Swan Lake" under the pretext of going to Hong Kong to give a performance. Chou En-lai intervened and told the troupe to go ahead with the revolutionary ballet.***

Even after the troupe began rehearsing the "Red Detachment of Women," attempts were made to belittle it. Some of the opposition, after seeing a preliminary performance, remarked: "It is not clear and cannot be understood. The artistic level is too low and confused. It cannot be shown to people in other countries, for they will not acknowledge it."**** Despite these obstacles, the troupe continued to rehearse the ballet. Chiang Ch'ing organized the members of the troupe to go to Hainan Island, the locale for the story, to get a better understanding of the people and places concerned. She also visited Hainan in the course of preparing the ballet.*****

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* *Cultural Revolution Bulletin,* No. 11, May 1967, op. cit.
** "The Thought of Mao Tse-tung Guides the Revolution of Ballet," *People's Daily,* June 2, 1967.
*** Ibid.
**** Ibid.
***** Ibid.

By National Day, 1964, the "Red Detachment of Women" was ready to be staged. A week later, on October 8, Mao came to see a performance of the ballet. His evaluation: "The orientation is correct, the revolution is a success, and the show is also good in art."* Chiang Ch'ing, his wife, had served him well. The hours she had spent cutting parts, altering characters and rewriting scenes had been well spent, as had been the time she took to visit Hainan Island. The reform of Chinese Opera had begun; now the reform of ballet was launched. Next on Chiang Ch'ing's list for personal attention was the symphony. But a few months were needed before that battle could begin.

In the interim, the rectification movement in literary and artistic circles was beginning to collapse. On November 4, Chou Yang summed up the results of the campaign in the various unions of the Federation of Literary and Art Circles and, for all intents, called it to a halt. In the Ministry of Culture, the rectification movement was reduced to a program that "principally seeks to clarify thought."** At the First Session of the Third National People's Congress in December, Chou En-lai spoke out again on cultural affairs, declaring that it was imperative to carry the revolution through to the end on the ideological and cultural front. About the same time, Chiang Ch'ing informed Lu Ting-Yi, Chou Yang, Lin Mo-han and others that Mao was somewhat concerned with the films being produced. He felt, she told them, that a large number of bad films should be criticized and repudiated.*** On December 29, the All-China Nationalities Amateur Art Festival opened in Peking. During the 33 days that it lasted, Mao received all those taking part.

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* *People's Daily,* June 2, 1967, op. cit.
** *Cultural Revolution Bulletin,* No. 11, May 1967, op. cit.
*** Ibid.

The year 1964 proved a momentous one not only for China's literature and art but for the whole spectrum of China's political, economic, and social affairs. In the Soviet Union, Khrushchev had been ousted and a new and perhaps more amiable — in the Chinese view — leadership was in the making. China's relations with the non-Communist world were improving, with dozens of important foreign dignitaries trooping to Peking on State visits. The "Peking-Hanoi-Phnom Penh-Djakarta" axis was operating smoothly, and China was looking forward eagerly to the Second Session of the Afro-Asian Conference scheduled to be held in Algeria in June 1965. Chou En-lai was talking about forming a "Revolutionary United Nations." The country's economy was beginning to move again. And Chinese scientists had succeeded in detonating the country's first nuclear explosion. In fact, the situation had not been as bright in years. But the divisions in leadership and outlook that had broken to the surface in 1964 were to be only a harbinger of things to come.

In January, 1965, Chiang Ch'ing paid a call on members of the Central Philharmonic Society in Peking. She told them: "You cannot follow 'foreigners' to death but must take your own road...create the symphony of the proletariat and the symphony of the workers, peasants, and soldiers." As a start, she suggested, the Society should transform the new Peking Opera "Shachiapang" into a symphony.* Li Ling was then Director and Secretary of the Party Committee of the Society. He called several meetings to discuss the problems of adaptation, but heated arguments developed. On January 27 Chiang Ch'ing again visited members of the Society and upon hearing of the disputes that had developed told them: "You have touched

* "The Revolutionary Symphony 'Shachiapang' Has Fought Its Way Out of the Old Camp", *Red Flag,* No. 8, May 23, 1967.

on every problem in your arguments. But you have not touched the word revolution...you must follow your own road" and "dare to touch the back of the tiger."* Again she went directly to the performers instead of to the Society's leadership. Again she invoked the word of Mao in urging them on.

Work to adapt and create the symphony "Shachiapang" finally began. Yet even then those who objected to Chiang Ch'ing's interference threw up obstacles. Those who controlled the Society refused to let the best musicians join the group working on the revolutionary symphony and budgeted little time for it.** Chou Yang and his supporters were accused of having tried to dissuade members of the Society from taking part in the adaptation by suggesting that trying to sing Peking Opera without understanding it could harm one's voice. They were accused of opposing the introduction of Chinese musical instruments into the Western style symphony that the Society had been performing for years. And "special musical gatherings" and "chorus gatherings" were said to have been sponsored for the sole purpose of interfering with the creation and rehearsal of "Shachiapang."*** But as with Peking Opera on contemporary themes and revolutionary ballet, proletarianized symphony overcame the obstacles and in late September, 1965, was ready to be performed. On China's National Day, October 1, public performances of the symphony began.****

While Chiang Ch'ing had succeeded in pushing through

* "History on Demonstrative Opera", by Kung Chi, *Wen Hui Pao,* Hong Kong, July 21, 1967.

** "A New Lease on Life for Symphonic Music," *People's Daily,* June 3, 1967.

*** *Red Flag,* No. 8, May 23, 1967, op. cit.

**** *People's Daily,* June 3, 1967, op. cit. and *Capital Red Guards,* June 7, 1967, op. cit. It is interesting that none of the official publications at the time mentioned this first performance of the symphony.

the performance of "Shachiapang," it must have seemed at the time like a small victory indeed. Elsewhere the current was running against her. In January, about the time she launched the revolutionary symphony, she replied to a Shanghai Municipal Committee report requesting guidance on the question of showing old films. Chiang Ch'ing commented that "the ugliness of undesirable films should not be covered up, and such films should not be revised before they are shown so that they might be criticized and repudiated." Countering this instruction, Chou Yang told the Municipal Committee that he had consulted P'eng Chen and Lo Jui-ch'ing and they favored making revisions of questionable films before screening them. As a result, the movies "City Without Night," "Sisters of the Stage" and "A-shih-ma," which later were to be condemned as "poisonous weeds," were revised before they were shown.*

In late February, Chou Yang and Lin Mo-han convened a conference in Peking on literary and art commentaries in newspapers and magazines. They denounced many of the articles that had appeared in the previous months of "criticism and repudiation." The denunciation campaigns against several of China's leading literary and artistic personalities were attacked. "In criticizing and repudiating Hsia Yen, T'ien Han, and other persons, the past must be separated from the present, and politics from learning."** On March 3 a summary report of the meeting of the Party Secretariat was privately distributed. It revealed opposition to the free-for-all criticism and repudiation effort and declared that criticism of celebrated personages could not begin without approval of the Party Central Committee. At the meeting, Teng Hsiao-p'ing declared that "having disagreements in academic and educational viewpoints doesn't

* *Capital Red Guards,* June 7, 1967, op. cit.
** *Capital Red Guards,* June 7, 1967, op. cit.

matter. Different viewpoints may co-exist over a long time." After this report was distributed many newspapers and magazines backed away from the repudiation campaign, and the denunciations of Hsia Yen, T'ien Han and others ceased.*

In Shanghai, Chiang Ch'ing had completed her review and revision of the four Peking operas on contemporary themes. In the spring of 1965 she declared that these were "model operas" that could be taken as examples for the further development of revolutionary Peking Opera. When P'eng Chen heard of this he was infuriated. "What sort of models are these," he huffed. "As the head of the Central Committee's Five-man Cultural Revolution Group I have no knowledge of it them all!"** His protestation was loud, but had little effect. Of more significance, however, his outburst revealed that at least by early 1965 a group had been set up under the Party Central Committee to direct a cultural revolution in China. In all likelihood, this group of five*** was formed in the autumn of 1964 when the rectification campaign in literary and artistic circles began. In a purely technical sense, then, it is possible to date the start of the Cultural Revolution from that period.

There was, however, clearly little support at the time for a cultural revolution of the kind envisaged by Mao and his principal advocate, Chiang Ch'ing. At a meeting of Party-member cadres of the Ministry of Culture on April 15-16, Chou Yang delivered a report summing up the rectification of the previous few months and announcing an

* *Capital Red Guards,* June 7, 1967, op. cit.
** "Use Mao Tse-tung's Thought to Create Heroes' Images," *People's Daily,* May 14, 1967.
*** The five-man group is known to have consisted of P'eng Chen, as the head, Lu Ting-yi, K'ang Sheng, and Wu Leng-hsi. The fifth member has not yet been identified. (See *New Steel Academy,* No. 18, May 20, 1967.) All were purged during the Cultural Revolution with the exception of K'ang Sheng.

end to the campaign. He defended Hsia Yen, Ch'i Yen-ming and others who had been attacked, characterizing them as "disciples of Marxism-Leninism consistently opposed to revisionism" who had erred only when the bourgeoisie launched an attack on the Party during the years of economic difficulty between 1959-62. "We have criticized these comrades," he said, "but the Party does not regard them as rightists. Our contradiction with and struggle against them remain a contradiction among the people and an inner-Party struggle."* In other words, they had made mistakes but not the kind that would warrant removing them from their positions of authority.

In the wake of the brief rectification that had been staged, a new Party Committee of the Ministry of Culture was set up. Those who took control were familiar names: Lu Ting-yi, Hsiao Wang-tung, Shih Hsi-min, Yen Chin-sheng, Chao Hsin-ch'u, Liu Pai-yu and Li Ch'i.** Through the summer of 1965 the struggle between the opposing forces continued. From July 29 to August 13 a Feature Film Planning Conference called by the Ministry of Culture was held in Peking. Chou En-lai delivered a speech at the conference on August 11 and declared that Mao's views on literature and the arts had not been seriously implemented in the previous 23 years. He emphasized the need to correct that situation.*** On August 19 the Ministry of Culture called a political work conference. Hsiao Wang-tung, on the instructions of the Five-Man Cultural Revolution Group, delivered a report which ignored Mao's directives and the work that had been done by Chiang Ch'ing.****

From September 10 to 27, a National Conference of Heads of Cultural Departments was held at the direction

* *Capital Red Guards,* June 7, 1967, op. cit.
** Ibid.
*** Ibid.
**** Ibid.

of the Ministry of Culture. P'eng Chen, Lu Ting-yi, Chou Yang, and Hsiao Wang-tung spoke at the meeting. Hsia Yen and Yang Han-sheng, among others who had been criticized during the brief rectification effort, were invited to the rostrum. In their speeches, according to accounts of Red Guard publications, P'eng Chen, Lu Ting-yi, and Chou Yang hailed the just-ended rectification campaign for accomplishing the very reforms it had not. Hsiao Wang-tung summed up the essence of the reports delivered at the conference when he said: "With several months spent on studying the directives of the Central Committee (on cultural reform)...it appears that the question of orientation in regard to cultural work has been basically clarified."* Perhaps it had been clarified to the satisfaction of P'eng, Lu, Chou, and Hsiao. But not to the satisfaction of Mao.

A Work Conference of the Party's Central Committee, attended by Mao, was held from late September to early October 1965. At this meeting Mao proposed criticism of Wu Han for his 1961 play, "Hai Jui Dismissed From Office." The play, he told the conference, must be criticized and repudiated upon the basis of class struggle. In effect, he ordered the Central Committee, and in particular those governing literature and art, to condemn the play and its author. This was not a question of academic understanding, nor was it a matter of mistaken line, a contradiction among the people. It was class struggle, Mao had said, and class struggle meant it was a fight between proletarian and bourgeois ideas, a fight "between the enemies and ourselves." It was, furthermore, the kind of battle that the entrenched cultural authorities had worked so diligently to suppress and avoid during the months of the rectification campaign in late 1964 and early 1965. At the Central Committee Work Conference the other leaders listened to

* *Capital Red Guards.* June 7, 1967, op. cit.

Mao's instructions politely, but refused to carry them out. They actually "resisted his instructions by all means."* It was the second time in just over a year that Mao's warnings had gone unheeded. There would be, as it turned out, no third chance.

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* "Two Diametrically Opposed Documents", *Red Flag*, No. 9, 1967. The conference actually was a session of the Standing Committee of the Politburo attended also by officials of the Party's Regional bureaus. See the "Circular of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, May 16, 1966," *Peking Review*, No. 21, May 19, 1967.

CHAPTER XI
THE FINAL REVENGE

On November 10, 1965, few if any of the Shanghai residents thumbing through the morning paper *Wen-hui Pao* could have realized the explosive importance of the article entitled, innocuously enough, "On the New Historial Play 'Hai Jui Dismissed From Office'." They would have had no way of knowing the events that had transpired at the Central Committee Work Conference a month before. Nor would they have known that the Party leadership had ignored Mao's demand for the criticism and repudiation of Wu Han and his play. Equally unbeknown to them Chiang Ch'ing had come to Shanghai following the Central Committee Conference. Working through Chang Chun-chiao, a member of the Shanghai Municipal Party Committee and Director of its Propaganda Department, she assisted the young but noted literary critic Yao Wen-yuan in preparing the article that appeared that morning. It would be weeks before the readers of the *Wen-hui Pao* began to see the significance of the article, and months before they were told the circumstances behind it or that it "began in the ideological sphere the criticism and repudiation of Wu Han and

other anti-Party, anti-Socialist representatives of the bourgeoisie, thus ushering in the stage of preparing public opinion for the mass movement of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in China."*

Once her task in Shanghai was finished, Chiang Ch'ing went back to Peking. On November 24, together with Mao, she received a number of resident Americans in China: Anna Louise Strong, Mr. and Mrs. Frank Coe, Mr. and Mrs. Sol Adler, Mr. and Mrs. Israel Epstein, Mr. and Mrs. Sidney Rittenberg, Mr. and Mrs. David Milton, Mr. and Mrs. Julian Schuman, and Dr. Ma Hai Teh (George Hatem). The same evening she and Mao attended a banquet in honor of Anna Louise Strong whose 80th birthday fell on that day. The following day Mao met with members of a Japanese youth delegation in China to attend the China-Japan Youth Friendship Festival. On November 26 Mao received Lieutenant-General Lon Nol, Cambodian Vice-Premier, Minister of National Defense and Commander-in-Chief of the Royal Cambodian Armed Forces and members of the military delegation he led.** This was to be his last reported public appearance until early May 1966, when he met the Albanian leader Mehmet Shehu.

Shortly after his meeting with the Cambodian Vice-Premier, Mao, accompanied by Chiang Ch'ing, left Peking for Shanghai.*** The following six months that he was to remain out of public view gave rise to considerable speculation on what had become of him. Numerous reports appearing outside China suggested that he was dead, that he had had a stroke and was partially paralyzed, that he was in south China riding out the bitter cold winter of Peking, and that he had merely gone into one of his periodic

* *Red Flag,* No. 9, 1967, op. cit.
** *People's Daily,* Nov. 25, 26, 27, 1967.
*** *Nihon Keizai,* Tokyo, Dec. 29, 1966, quoting Red Guard paper *Tungfanghung,* dated Dec. 17, 1966.

retreats from public display. China's news media, of course, made no mention of his whereabouts. Even more than two and a half years later the exact circumstances of his disappearance remained a mystery. The only light shed on the matter came from reports on the developments that were taking place at the time.

Despite the fact that Yao Wen-yuan's article on "Hai Jui Dismissed From Office" had appeared on November 10, the press in Peking (and a much more influential press it was than the one in Shanghai) ignored the article. Yet the leadership in the capital recognized the subtle — but to those in the know none-too-hidden — target of the criticism: the Peking Municipal Party Committee headed by P'eng Chen. It was, of course, contrary to Party discipline for the Shanghai paper to launch an attack without approval of the Party officials in Peking. Although he must have known why the article was printed, P'eng Chen nevertheless sent a telegram to the Shanghai Municipal Party Committee asking why the article had not been referred to Peking before it was published.* In all likelihood this was merely a stalling tactic, one meant to justify the slowless of the Peking press in responding to the criticism. In any case, the matter came to a head on November 29 when the local Peking paper, *Peking Daily,* republished the article but prefaced it with an editor's note which played down the serious political issues raised by Yao Wen-yuan. The following day both the *People's Daily* and the military paper *Liberation Army Daily* reprinted the article, taking, in the editor's notes, opposite stands.

On the same day Yao Wen-yuan's article broke through the resistance in Peking, Chou Yang addressed the 1,100 young activists in spare-time writing who had gathered in

* "Criticizing the Bourgeois Stand of *Frontline* and *Peking Daily,*" by Chi Pen-yu, *Red Flag,* No. 7, 1966.

the capital for a conference sponsored by the Communist Youth League and the Union of Chinese Writers.* On the surface, Chou Yang's speech seemed to follow the line laid down by Mao and Chiang Ch'ing. He called on the young artists to hold high "the revolutionary banner of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Tse-tung's thinking" and to become "writers and artists capable of taking up manual and creative work." While plugging this line he also put in a few words for the departments and organizations he controlled. He described the short rectification campaign in literary and art organizations the year before as "another large-scale literary and art rectification campaign after the Yenan Forum on Literature and Art and the continuation of the Yenan literary and art rectification campaign under new historical conditions."** This was intended to elevate that effort to the high ranks of the Yenan rectification led by Mao himself. On the emerging campaign of criticism and repudiation of Wu Han and his "Hai Jui Dismissed from Office", Chou Yang remained silent.

The Peking press bowed to pressure and reprinted Yao Wen-yuan's article. But it stood obstinantly in the path of any effort to accuse Wu Han of political crimes, declaring that "the question of Wu Han should be discussed as an academic question."*** This prompted Mao on December 21 to stress once again that "the crux of 'Hai Jui Dismissed From Office' was the question of dismissal from office. The Emperor Chia Ching [of the Ming Dynasty, who ruled from 1522-1526] dismissed Hai Jui from office. In 1959 we dismissed P'eng Teh-huai from office. And P'eng Teh-huai is Hai Jui too."**** But, "the P'eng Chen counter-revolutionary revisionist group" blocked Mao's instructions. They

* *Peking Review*, No. 50, Dec. 10, 1965.
** *Capital Red Guards*, June 7, 1967, op. cit.
*** *Red Flag*, No. 9, 1967, op. cit.
**** Ibid.

boldly declared that the criticism against Wu Han must not touch the issue Mao had raised, must not touch "the problem of Right opportunists being dismissed from office at the Lushan Conference in 1959, must not touch the problem of the anti-Party anti-socialist stand of Wu Han and the others."* On December 27 *Peking Daily* published Wu Han's "Self-criticism Concerning 'Hai Jui Dismissed From Office'." Wu Han explained his mistake in terms of "understanding" and of errors in academic position. He admitted to no political crimes.

The month of February, 1966, marked a turning point in the struggle that had lasted for nearly four years. On February 2, a "Forum on the Work in Literature and Art in the Armed Forces" began in Shanghai, convened and directed by the new patron saint of China's literature and art, Chiang Ch'ing. The authority to conduct a conference with armed forces personnel had been given her by Defense Minister Lin Piao. The forum, moreover, marked the apex of her drive to gain some formal authority over China's cultural affairs. Before a group of military officials departed from Peking for the forum, Lin Piao told them:

> Comrade Chiang Ch'ing talked with me yesterday. She is very sharp politically on questions of literature and art, and she really knows art. She has many opinions, and they are very valuable. You should pay good attention to them and take measures to insure that they are applied ideologically and organizationally. From now on, the army's documents concerning literature and art should be sent to her. Get in touch with her when you have any information for her in order to keep her well posted on the situation in literary and art work in the armed forces. Ask for her opinions,

* *Red Flag*, No. 9, 1967, op. cit.

which will help improve this work.*
With that mandate, Chiang Ch'ing directly guided the work of the forum. During the 18 days of the conference, she had eight private discussions with one of the delegates (who was not named), attended four group discussions, 13 films shows and three theatrical performances.**

In Peking, meanwhile, the forces aligned with P'eng Chen and the men of China's literature and art were preparing to meet Mao's latest challenge. Between February 3 and 7, P'eng and his followers prepared a lengthy report on the events of the previous few months and the direction the reform of literature and art should take. The "Outline Report on the Current Academic Discussion Made by the Group of Five in Charge of the Cultural Revolution" was approved on February 12 for distribution to Party committees throughout the nation. Among other things, it advocated the consideration of academic and professional as well as political questions when examining literary and artistic works. This later was labelled an attempt to block Mao's instructions and to whitewash the crimes of men like Wu Han. The Outline declared that "we must not behave like scholar-tyrants who are always acting arbitrarily and trying to overwhelm people with their power" and "we should guard against any tendency for academic workers of the Left (those following Mao and Chiang Ch'ing's instructions) to take the road of bourgeois experts and scholar-tyrants." It directed the Party committees to carry on with the campaign but only "under direction . . . with prudence . . . with caution . . . and with the approval of the leading bodies concerned." As a later document summed up the Outline, it "opposes carrying the socialist revolution through to the

* "Summary of the Forum on the Work in Literature and Art in the Armed Forces", *Peking Review*, No. 23, June 2, 1967.
** Ibid.

end, opposes the line on the cultural revolution pursued by the Central Committee headed by Comrade Mao Tse-tung, attacks the proletarian left and shields the bourgeois Right, thereby preparing public opinion for the restoration of capitalism."* The Outline, it was later claimed, was not the work of the Group of Five in Charge of the Cultural Revolution, but the product of P'eng Chen alone, written "behind the backs" of the Group of Five and without consultation with any Party Committee. It was never submitted to Mao for approval. It became, nevertheless, the official position paper of Mao's opposition.

At the conclusion of the army forum on literature and art in Shanghai, a summary report was written by those who attended, again under the guidance and direction of Chiang Ch'ing. The "Forum Summary" was personally examined and revised three times by Mao before it was released.** This document was for Mao and his followers what the "Outline" was for P'eng Chen and his faction: a statement of position, policy and intention. The "Forum Summary" recorded the work at the conference, lauded the effort and advise given by Chiang Ch'ing, and reviewed the history of the conflict over literature and art. "The last 16 years have witnessed sharp class struggles on the cultural front . . . there has been a struggle between the two classes and the two lines on the cultural front, that is, the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie for leadership on this front."*** The report called for the complete implementation of Mao's instructions, and pointed out the past failures to observe his directives. It was, in effect, a call to arms and the battle plan for the attack on Mao's opponents.

* *Peking Review*, No. 21, May 19, 1967, op. cit.
** *Hsinhua News Agency*, May 28, 1967.
*** *Peking Review*, No. 23, June 2, 1967, op. cit.

On February 28, 1966, the Director of the Party Propaganda Department, Lu Ting-yi, made his last public appearance. On March 9 the last session of the Plenary Meeting of the State Council was held. The drive by Mao, Lin Piao, and Chiang Ch'ing to gain control of the organizations and offices held by the opposition was rapidly unfolding. On March 22, Lin Piao wrote a letter to the members of the Standing Committee of the Military Affairs Commission of the Party presenting to them the report of the forum conducted by Chiang Ch'ing. He described the report as an excellent document that "applies Mao Tse-tung's thought to answer many important questions concerning the cultural revolution in the period of socialism. It is of both extremely great practical and far-reaching historic significance."*

In late March, Liu Shao-ch'i and Foreign Minister Ch'en Yi arrived in West Pakistan on a State visit. Surprisingly, no official report on their departure from Peking was made. It was simply reported that they had arrived in West Pakistan on March 26 from the remote Chinese province of Sinkiang. Nor was their return, apparently in late April, reported. On March 29, P'eng Chen made his last public appearance as one of the nation's top leaders. Beginning April 12, a profusion of articles attacking Wu Han appeared in the Chinese press. The Standing Committee of the National People's Congress met on April 14 and heard a report by Vice Minister of Culture Shih Hsi-min entitled "Raise High the Great Red Banner of Mao Tse-tung's Thought, Resolutely Carry the Socialist Cultural Revolution to the End." This report was based on the "Forum Summary." At the same meeting, Kuo Mo-jo made his self-deprecating speech about the shortcomings of all his previous writings. Then on April 18 the *Liberation*

* *Peking Review,* No. 23, op. cit.

Army Daily and the *People's Daily* published an editorial entitled "Raise High the Great Red Flag of Mao Tse-tung's Thought, Actively Take Part in Socialist Cultural Revolution." The editorial completely echoed the line in the "Forum Summary."

Not long after Liu Shao-ch'i had departed the country on his tour of Pakistan and several other countries, an attack was launched against the Army Chief of Staff, Lo Jui-ch'ing. A seven-member Group to Criticize and Repudiate Lo Jui-ch'ing was organized to handle this purge.* The downfall of Lo, coupled with the absence of Liu Shao-ch'i, removed two of the greatest obstacles Mao faced in the capital. The road back to Peking and to the assertion of his authority was being rapidly cleared. On May 6, Mao reappeared in public for the first time since the previous November and received the Albanian leader Shehu. This meeting apparently took place in Hangchow. The meeting was not publicly announced until four days later, on May 10. On May 8, *Red Flag, Liberation Army Daily* and *Kuangming Daily* in Peking, and *Liberation Daily* and *Wen-hui Pao* in Shanghai began publishing articles attacking "The Three-Family Village" and those connected with it: Teng T'o, Wu Han, and Liao Mo-sha, all followers of P'eng Chen. On May 11, *Red Flag* published an article attacking *Peking Daily* and the magazine *Frontline,* organs of the Peking Municipal Party Committee under P'eng Chen's leadership.

The worst blow, however, was to come five days later when the Central Committee transmitted to all Party committees the Circular of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, dated May 16, 1966. The circular packed a wallop. It revoked the "Outline Report on the

* "Crush Great Betrayer An Tzu-wen, Destroy the Independent Kingdom of the Old Central Committee's Organization Department," a Red Guard publication, dated August, 1967.

Current Academic Discussion Made by the Group of Five in Charge of the Cultural Revolution;" it dissolved the group of Five and its offices, it announced the establishment of a new Cultural Revolution Group directly under the Standing Committee of the Party Politburo. The circular also attacked P'eng Chen by name.*

For Chiang Ch'ing, the May 16 Circular was a declaration of triumph. It meant the end for those who had fought and obstructed her since, according to Cultural Revolution accounts, the days in Yenan. It meant the disgrace of many of those individuals in literary and art circles who had treated her with contempt. And it also meant her elevation to a position of power and authority that even she perhaps had not dreamed of. The old Cultural Revolution Group, which had functioned under the Party Secretariat, was cast out. And the new group, expanded and placed directly under the Politburo Standing Committee — the most powerful organization in the country — took over. Chiang Ch'ing, as First Deputy Head of the reorganized Group, was second in command only to Chen Po-ta. In point of fact, she was almost certainly the top person in the Cultural Revolution Group, for as Mao's wife and confidant, and as the conveyor of his feelings and instructions, her comments and opinions could scarcely be ignored by Chen Po-ta, who had often been regarded as no more than Mao's confidential secretary.

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* How, when and where this circular was written has never been officially disclosed, except that it was prepared under Mao's personal direction. There is one report that sometime around May 16 an enlarged meeting of the Politburo was held in Hangchow, attended by Mao, Chou En-lai, Liu Shao-ch'i and Teng Hsiao-p'ing among others. Liu and Teng are said to have returned to the capital to implement this directive, and thus began the 50 days during which they controlled the Cultural Revolution. *Sing Tao Daily News,* Hong Kong, Aug. 30, 1967, quoting an article in the Red Guard publication *Revolutionary Rebels' Journal,* of Chekiang University, undated.

Her appointment to the Cultural Revolution Group carried other meaning for Chiang Ch'ing. For years she had been waging war against Mao's opponents without the backing and support of a title or organization. At the 1964 Festival of Peking Opera on Contemporary Themes, Chiang Ch'ing attended the opening ceremony as "one of the other Central Committee responsible comrades,"* even though not a member (or an alternate-member) of the Central Committee. She held no official title, a fact that her opponents used to suppress news about her activities.

When Liu Shao-ch'i and his wife returned to Peking in late April, the situation already was in great flux. The Peking Municipal Party Committee was under fire, Lu Ting-yi and Lo Jui-ch'ing had been purged. On May 25, it was announced that the Peking Municipal Party Committee had been reorganized and that the new committee had decided to reshuffle the staffs of the *Peking Daily* and the *Peking Evening News* and to close down the *Frontline* magazine. On that same day, a group of seven persons at Peking University headed by a matronly assistant professor of philosophy named Nieh Yuan-tzu** put up a big-character poster denouncing the President and other officials of the university. On June 1 Mao hailed the poster as "the first Marxist-Leninist big-character poster in the entire country . . . the manifesto of the Peking People's Commune in the 60's of the 20th century."*** He ordered the text of the poster disseminated through the national press and radio.

The same day, the *People's Daily,* completely taken over by Mao's supporters, published an editorial entitled

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* *People's Daily,* June 6, 1964.

** Several Red Guard publications have referred to Nieh as being a close friend of Chiang Ch'ing's. If so, this could mean that the big-character poster was not, as Peking has tried to suggest, a "spontaneous product of the masses" but a carefully schemed attack.

*** Shanghai *Wen-hui Pao,* Feb. 11, 1967.

"Sweeping Away All Freaks and Monsters." The term Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution appeared for the first time. On June 3, the leadership of the reorganized Peking Municipal Party Committee was announced: Li Hsueh-feng was made First Secretary and Wu Teh became Second Secretary, replacing P'eng Chen and Liu Jen. In all likelihood these appointments were made on or before May 25 since the existence of the new committee was first mentioned at that time. While all of this was going on, Mao was still out of the capital. Chiang Ch'ing, as seemed only natural, was with him.

During this period that he was away, it became evident how much resistance to the Cultural Revolution remained. Liu Shao-ch'i and Teng Hsiao-p'ing took control of the movement, leading it in a direction contrary to Mao's design. The same June 3 report that disclosed the new leadership of the Peking Municipal Party Committee also announced that the new committee had decided to dismiss Lu Ping and P'eng Pei-yun from all their posts at Peking University and to reorganize the University's Party committee. A work-team headed by Chang Cheng-hsien was dispatched to the university to lead the Cultural Revolution there and to exercise the power of the school's Party committee. This marked the beginning of the "work-team period" when thousands of the centrally-controlled groups were sent to universities, offices, factories, and other organizations to direct the Cultural Revolution. Almost invariably these teams worked along the lines formulated by Liu Shao-ch'i and his followers. In a speech the following November, Chiang Ch'ing pinpointed the problem: "They [the work-teams] did not point the spearhead of their struggle at the handful of power-holders or at the reactionary academic authorities, but at the revolutionary students."* What Liu

* *People's Daily*, Dec. 4, 1967.

and Teng had done in using the work-teams was to put those who were to be attacked during the Cultural Revolution in command of the Cultural Revolution. The work-teams were ordered withdrawn on July 24, shortly after Mao returned to Peking.

Events unfolded with a thunder clap during the month of June 1966. On June 13 the Central Committee and the State Council decided to postpone enrollment for the 1966 school term by half a year and to change the old system of entrance examinations for institutes of higher learning. At the same time, the schools in Peking became the scene of political rioting with students parading teachers and school officials for public display and criticism, forcing them to wear dunce caps.* On June 24, Red Guards from the middle school connected to Tsinghua University issued a manifesto entitled "Long Live the Spirit of Proletarian Revolutionary Rebellion." This was not disclosed until two months later when *Red Flag*, No. 11, of August 23, 1966, printed the manifesto. This is the earliest official reference to the birth of the Red Guards. A later official report, however, disclosed that the Red Guards at the Tsinghua Middle School were organized in May, 1966, and were "among the pioneers of these young revolutionary organizations."**

Peking consistently maintained that the Red Guards appeared as a spontaneous movement organized by the "revolutionary masses." That is questionable. The June 24 manifesto of the Tsinghua Middle School Red Guards enunciated too clearly and profoundly the essential nature of the Cultural Revolution Mao had launched. It is difficult to accept it as the work of a group of teenagers. It seems evident, furthermore, that the original Red Guards were

* *Chingkang-shan*, Peking, Dec. 31, 1966.

** *Hsinhua News Agency*, Oct. 12, 1966. The Red Guards did not make their official debut until Aug. 18, 1966.

definitely organized and directed by Mao and his supporters. What role, if any, Chiang Ch'ing had in setting up the Red Guards is not known at this writing. No mention has been made in the official press, or in the hundreds of existing Red Guard publications of her having been involved in the creation of the Red Guards.

The criticism and repudiation campaign against leading figures in China's literary and art circles continued to develop through June. In early July a blow was struck at one of the most vocal and important of those figures: Chou Yang, Deputy Director of the Party Propaganda Department. A massive criticism campaign followed and Chou Yang was toppled. Around July 12, and again apparently at his favorite hideaway in Hangchow, near Shanghai, Mao received the Nepalese Crown Prince who was touring the country. Four days later he made the much-publicized swim in the Yangtse river near Wuhan. This event was to herald his return to Peking on July 18 and the resumption of his direct control over the Cultural Revolution.* Chiang Ch'ing, though out of the capital and with Mao, was being constantly briefed on developments in Peking by Ch'en Po-ta and K'ang Sheng. These reports she faithfully passed on to Mao. The situation was becoming complex in the capital as Liu Shao-ch'i and Teng Hsiao-p'ing continued to press the Cultural Revolution in a direction contrary to Mao's wishes. This may well have been the reason Mao chose to return when he did. Chiang Ch'ing, who later indicated that she was not feeling well at the time, nevertheless forsook her rest and packed off to Peking on July 20, two days after Mao had returned.**

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* "Comrade Chiang Ch'ing's Speech at the Rally of Literary and Art Workers," Nov. 28, 1966, *Combat Bulletin of Red Art,* Peking, Feb. 15, 1967, in *Survey of China Mainland Press,* No. 3908, March 30, 1967, American Consulate General, Hong Kong.

** *Combat Bulletin of Red Art,* Feb. 15, 1967, op. cit.

Once back in the capital, Mao began laying his plans for capturing the bigger game awaiting him. On July 22 Liu Shao-ch'i made his last public statement as the Chairman of the Chinese People's Republic, a declaration of support for North Vietnam. On July 31, Liu, Chou En-lai, and Chu Teh were mentioned for the last time as Vice Chairman of the Chinese Communist Party.

The fait accompli of Mao's drive to re-establish his authority over the nation's intellectual and political life was delivered during the first 12 days of August when the 11th Plenary Session of the 8th Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party convened in Peking. The plenum was the first that had been held since September 1962, since the time, in effect, that Mao began losing control of the Party and its operations. On August 1, the same day the Central Committee plenum opened, the celebrations in honor of the 39th anniversary of the Nanchang Uprising (considered the birth date of the Chinese Communist Army) gave the first official indication of Army Chief-of-Staff Lo Jui-ch'ing's dismissal. Yang Ch'eng-wu, formerly a Deputy Chief-of-Staff, was named during the celebrations as Acting Chief of the General Staff.

Full details of what occurred at the 11th Plenum were not released. It was, nevertheless, clearly a meeting devoted to establishing Mao's line and authority and to making the organizational changes necessitated by the accomplished and expected purges within the Party. On August 5, Mao wrote a big-character poster entitled "Bombard the Headquarters" which denounced the leadership of the Cultural Revolution under Liu Shao-ch'i and Teng Hsiao-p'ing during the period Mao was absent from Peking. His big-character poster served as a call for the start of attacks on Liu, Teng, and other party leaders. A 16-point "Decision of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party Con-

cerning the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution" was adopted at the plenary session on August 8. This was a progammatic document on aims and approaches of the Cultural Revolution. Two days later Mao made a surprise appearance at a reception center near the Central Committee headquarters to meet "Peking's Revolutionary masses." He told them: "You should pay attention to state affairs and carry the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution through to the end."* The 11th Plenum closed on August 12. The press communique on the work of the plenum was released two days later. It made no mention of how many Central Committee members had attended, breaking with the usual practice. However the plenum, it was disclosed, was attended not only by Central Committee and other Party officials but by members of the Cultural Revolution Group and representatives of revolutionary teachers and students from institutions of higher learning in Peking. There is no report that Chiang Ch'ing attended the plenum, though she may well have done so as first deputy head of the Cultural Revolution Group.

There seems little doubt that Chiang Ch'ing was politically active at the time. On August 6, while the 11th Plenum was in session, she went to the T'ien Ch'iao Theater in the capital at the invitation of two Red Guard groups. Together with Wang Jen-chung, First Secretary of the Party's Central-South Regional Bureau, and K'ang Sheng, she addressed the gathering. For the most part, Chiang Ch'ing's speech dwelled on a dispute that had arisen among the Red Guards over the couplet, "when the father is a revolutionary, the son is a hero." She explained to them that the way to solve the problem was through reason and offered as an alternative slogan: "When parents are revolutionaries, their children should be their successors. When parents are reactionaries, their children should rebel." Chiang Ch'ing told them the purpose of the Cultural Revolution was twofold. First it was a campaign to drag out those in authority "taking the capitalist road" within the Party; second, it was a movement to get rid of the old ideology and culture, old customs and habit.*

* *People's Daily*, Aug. 12, 1967.

Many reports appeared during the Cultural Revolution which depicted Chiang Ch'ing as an unreasoning, violent harridan personally behind much of the disorder and bloodshed spawned by that upheaval. That she was intimately involved in, and helped direct, the Cultural Revolution is evident. Yet it is significant that even as early as her speech on August 6, 1966, she was urging discipline and moderation in the drive against leaders taking "the capitalist road" and the effort to destroy the old. She told the Red Guards that revolutionary successors must have the right outlook and attitude:

> "They must rely on the great majority of the people. Just think, will the few of us here do? We have to unite the great majority who can be united. It is of strategic significance. The vanguards will be in trouble once they are separated from the majority. Isn't this so? They must be democratic. They must let other people express their opinions freely and listen to pros and cons. With things discussed again and again in this way, correct conclusions can be drawn. . . You may also put up wall posters which is a good way to make known your ideas.
>
> It is necessary for you to make some self-criticism. Would it do for you to criticize others only without criticizing yourselves? I feel that what is most fundamental is to unite all those who can be united. Only

* A Red Guard report published in *Current Background*, No. 830, June 26, 1967, American Consulate General, Hong Kong.

in this way shall we be able to isolate and strike blows at the minority*

This was the message of the 16-point Decision of the Central Committee on the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution that was to be made public two days later. It was the formula devised by Mao for conducting the campaign, the formula to hold the upheaval within managable bounds. Whether Chiang Ch'ing believed in this approach is impossible to say. She did, however, propagate it.

At least once again before she made her public debut at the reception for Red Guards on August 18 Chiang Ch'ing appeared at a Red Guard rally. This was on August 16 when, together with Ch'en Po-ta, K'ang Sheng, Li Hsueh-feng and Yao Wen-yuan, she received "revolutionary teachers and students" from other parts of China at the Peking Workers' Stadium. Li Hsueh-feng called the meeting to order and asked Chiang Ch'ing to preside. She made a brief statement of greetings to the gathering, adding, "I have been asked by Chairman Mao to send you his regards. Chairman Mao salutes you in the name of the noble proletarian revolution."** She then called on Ch'en Po-ta to speak. Li Hsueh-feng, Yao Wen-yuan and K'ang Sheng, in that order, made brief remarks. Only Ch'en Po-ta's speech was reported in an article on the meeting printed in *People's Daily* on August 22.

Dawn broke sunny and warm in Peking on August 18, 1966. By five o'clock that morning the sprawling Tien An Men Square was awash with red banners and flags, a sea of pulsating humanity. Just as the sun was rising on the eastern horizon, Mao Tse-tung arrived. He stepped out of his car, crossed the Chinshui Bridge in front of Tien An Men Gate and waded into the crowds that had been

* *Current Background,* No. 830, June 26, 1967, op. cit.
** Ibid.

gathering throughout the night. He waved, smiled, shook hands and all but kissed babies as any good politician would, then retired to the Tien An Men Gate to await the official opening of the rally at 7:30 a.m. For six hours Mao stayed at the rally of more than one million people. After speeches by Lin Piao, Chou En-lai, Nieh Yuan-tzu and representatives of college and middle schools students from Peking, Harbin, Changsha and Nanking, Mao, Lin, Chou and the only female in the group, Chiang Ch'ing, received 1,500 student representatives who mounted the rostrum in an orderly but seemingly endless stream.* Although the official listing of those attending the rally placed Chiang Ch'ing in the 25th place, her real standing was more accurately reflected in the list of those who received the student representatives. This became only too evident at the second mass reception of the Red Guards two weeks later, on August 31.

At 5:40 in the afternoon on that day, Mao and a couple of dozen other leaders — including Chiang Ch'ing who was in the second car with Chou En-lai, Tao Chu and Nieh Jung-chen — drove in open cars through Tien An Men Square to greet the half million Red Guards and revolutionary teachers who had come to Peking from various parts of the country. Later they mounted the Tien An Men Gate rostrum and, at 6:40 p.m., the First Deputy Leader of the Cultural Revolution Group under the Party's Central Committee, Comrade Chiang Ch'ing, declared the rally open. This was in every sense her day. It marked the beginning of the effort to build up her public image; it brought to the attention of the whole nation, and the outside world, her new status and authority. Luan Shu-meng, Li Yun-ho, Lan Ping, Chiang Ch'ing had arrived.

* *Peking Review,* No. 35, Aug. 26, 1966.

CHAPTER XII
DAYS OF FAME AND GLORY

The waning months of 1966 reverberated with "revolutionary" upheaval. The calls of the 11th Party Central Committee Plenum for sweeping away the old, and the formal introduction of the Red Guards on August 18, echoed across the length and breadth of the land. Millions of Chinese youth rallied to the call for battle, organized themselves into Red Guard units and set out to destroy the old. With mind-boggling quickness, the campaign mushroomed into a fight not only against Chinese intellectuals, including writers, university officials and creative artists, but against the Chinese Communist Party itself. To some extent the full impact and importance of the Cultural Revolution must have caught the lower-level Party officials by surprise. There was obvious confusion in the ranks over how to respond to the campaign. Muddled attempts to interfere with and suppress the Mao-minded youth and their rampaging escapades occurred throughout the country. In some cases this opposition resulted mainly from the lack of clear understanding of what was supposed to have been happening. In other cases it was equally obvious

that the entrenched Party officials were fighting for their political lives.

By early September thousands of Red Guard groups had appeared in nearly all of China's 26 provinces and autonomous regions and two special municipalities. As rapidly as they appeared they began roaming the country to smash, burn and consign to oblivion the remnants of China's feudalistic and bourgeois past. Thousands of Peking Red Guards — pace-setters of the movement — left for other parts of the country to "exchange experience," aid in the formation of other Red Guard lodges, and to lead the fight against the enemy.* Millions of the militant youth began flocking to Peking, the mecca of the Cultural Revolution and the home of Chairman Mao, severely straining the nation's transportation systems.** The Maoist leadership in Peking quickly realized the danger inherent in the campaign if it were allowed to get out of hand. On September 7 the *People's Daily* editorial, entitled "Grasp Revolution and Promote Production," urged workers, peasants, scientists, technicians and other laborers to "be firm at their production posts." It forbade the Red Guards to enter villages, factories, mines, construction sites, scientific research units or service trades to interfere with the political campaigns being carried on in those places. Repeated orders went out for the use of reason and not force in the struggle.

On September 15 Mao held his third reception for the one million Red Guards who had poured ino the capital

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* A seemingly typical example of the reaction to the Peking Red Guards occurred in Shanghai. The Peking Red Guards stormed the headquarters of the Shanghai Municipal Party Committee when they arrived. The Committee organized a rally of 5,000 workers and asked them to defend the Municipal Committee.

** Chou En-lai was reported to have said that at one time 30 per cent of the vehicles in China were being used to carry Red Guards. Train services also were heavily taxed.

from all parts of China. Lin Piao addressed the gathering and attacked those who were mobilizing workers and peasants to oppose the Red Guards. Chou En-lai also spoke, invoking a note of moderation and reminding the Red Guards that they were prohibited from "making revolutionary contact" in factories and on the farms. Chiang Ch'ing again was present, though she did not speak and was mentioned only once, in the list of officials attending the massive rally. Her activities during this period went unreported. In her capacity as First Deputy Head of the Cultural Revolution Group, however, it is probable she was meeting with various Red Guard units visiting the capital. On the evenings of September 28 and 29 she attended performances of the revolutionary Peking operas "The Red Lantern" and "Shachiapang" together with Chou En-lai, T'ao Chu, Ch'en Po-ta, K'ang Sheng and other leaders. This was duly reported by the Peking press and the Hsinhua News Agency.

At the National Day celebrations on October 1, one and a half million people crowded into Tien An Men Square. The biggest parade since the founding of the People's Republic rolled through the square for more than four hours. Chiang Ch'ing was on the rostrum with Mao and the other senior leaders, and accompanied him later that night as he wandered into the crowds during a fireworks display. As had become her practice, she was wearing the army-cut version of the trouser suit. The fifth reception (the National Day rally was called the fourth) of Red Guards took place on October 18. This time the leadership reviewed the one and a half million people in the square from open cars. Chiang Ch'ing was one of the 28 who rode in the procession. No speeches were made. The sixth reception came on November 3, with Mao, Lin Piao, Ch'en Po-ta, Chiang Ch'ing and the other leaders

returning to the rostrum for the review of two million Red Guards and others. The only time Chiang Ch'ing was not reported at the receptions was the seventh occasion on November 10 and 11. On the morning of the 10th, Mao and the other leaders reviewed a drive-pass of 6,000 truckloads of Red Guards. All together 600,000 attended the rally. The following day, 1.5 million were received when Mao and his close comrades drove some 10 miles through the square and adjoining thoroughfare. On November 16 the Central Committee and State Council issued a notice that from November 21 Red Guards would be refused passage on trains and other transport and were ordered to return to their home provinces. That this notice had little effect was evident on November 25 and 26 when Mao made his eighth and final reception. Two and a half million Red Guards were on hand for the two meetings, as was Chiang Ch'ing. During the eight receptions, Mao had received 11 million Red Guards. The youths were promised that the following spring Mao would resume the practice of receiving them. He did not.

From her first Cultural Revolution appearance in public on August 18 to the final reception for the Red Guards, official reports about Chiang Ch'ing were restricted to her presence at the rallies, with the exception of her visit to the Peking Opera performances. Whatever else she might have been involved in was not disclosed. This situation changed radically, however, when a rally of more than 20,000 literary and art workers was held on the evening of November 28 in the Great Hall of the People in Peking. Ch'en Po-ta presided over the meeting and delivered the opening remarks. The keynote speaker was Chiang Ch'ing, who spoke ahead of the third most powerful man in the country, Premier Chou En-lai. Her speech was a review of the struggle she had waged to reform Peking opera,

ballet and symphonic music. She called on the cultural workers to carry on the fight against the "power-holders within the Party who are taking the capitalist road and the counter-revolutionary revisionist line on literature and art which they represent."*

More than anything else, the rally represented an effusive testimonial meeting in honor of Chiang Ch'ing. In his opening statement, Ch'en Po-ta remarked: "I want to say here that, among the comrades who have persisted in this policy of revolution in literature and art and waged unremitting struggles against the reactionaries and counter-revolutionary revisionists, Comrade Chiang Ch'ing has made outstanding contributions." From Chou En-lai came similar praise: "The achievements of the revolution in literature and art mentioned above are inseparable from the guidance given by Comrade Chiang Ch'ing." The finest laudation, however, came from Hsieh Tang-chung, head of the Cultural Department of the General Political Department of the PLA. He disclosed that Chiang Ch'ing had been appointed as an advisor on cultural work to the Chinese army, adding that she was "an excellent student of Mao Tse-tung's thought, understands it profoundly and has been applying it with great persistence and creativeness." Other speakers paraded to the rostrum to hail "the unremitting struggles waged by Comrade Chiang Ch'ing."**

Although her major work involved Peking opera, ballet and symphonic music, another speaker at the rally revealed that Chiang Ch'ing also had been active in the reform of the film industry. Li Yen, a member of the army's August 1 Film Studio, said Chiang Ch'ing had put forth great effort to help bring to the screens the movie "A Great Wall Along the South Coast." She studied the

* *Hsinhua News Agency,* Dec. 3, 1966.
** Ibid.

scenario, talked with the scenarists, directors and actors and actresses and looked over the draft of the film time and again. This activity was resisted and opposed by the "handful of Party people in authority in the studio taking the capitalist road."*

The Chinese press gave considerable attention to this rally, and the praise of Chiang Ch'ing. For the first time one of her public speeches was officially reported in detail, although the full text was not released.** She had broken through another barrier and won another feather for her hat with her officially announced appointment as the army's cultural affairs advisor. In the days to follow she would not again be ignored.

December 1966 saw the collapse of the effort to keep the Cultural Revolution and the Red Guards out of the factories and villages. On December 15 the Party Center issued a 10-point draft instruction on carrying the Cultural Revolution to the villages. This signaled the beginning of the campaign in China's rural areas. The *People's Daily* editorial on December 26 ushered in the Cultural Revolution in the nation's industrial and mining enterprises. Despite the demands that Red Guards wait until the spring of 1967 before again coming to Peking, thousands continued to arrive on foot. And on December 28, more than 100,000 of the youth were hustled into Peking Workers Stadium to meet some of the leading officials. Chou En-lai and Chiang Ch'ing addressed the gathering. "Amidst thunderous applause," Chiang Ch'ing took the floor and praised the assembled Red Guards for their "style of plain living and hard struggle" as exemplified by their willingness to walk

* *Hsinhua,* Dec. 3, 1966, op. cit.
** The parts omitted, as revealed by Red Guard texts of the speech, involved references to some officials by name, to Red Guard fighting, and to Mao's activities during late 1965 and early 1966.

to Peking.*

The first harbinger of things to come during the year 1967 arrived on January 3 when the Shanghai paper *Wen-hui Pao* was taken over by supporters of Mao Tse-tung. Through the last three months of 1966 the struggle between the Maoist Red Guards and the established authorities had greatly intensified. Various Red Guard factions also were increasingly at odds with each other.

In December, open fighting had broken out in several parts of the country. Just as Shanghai earlier had served as the launching pad for the Cultural Revolution, and a base of operations for Chiang Ch'ing, it now took the lead in showing the rest of the nation how to deal with the opposition. The takeover of the *Wen-hui Pao* was the first "seizure of power" in the country. Two days later Shanghai's other daily newspaper, *Liberation Daily,* also was seized, and the campaign to overthrow the Shanghai Municipal Party Committee began. On January 5 the reorganized *Wen-hui Pao* published an article entitled "Message to All Shanghai People." The article revealed widespread disorder in Shanghai, where workers were leaving their production posts and attempts made to cut the city's water and electricity supplies. Shanghai, however, was not alone with its problems. A wave of what Peking came to call "economism" was sweeping the country. Workers in China's largest cities were going out on strike, peasants were raiding state granaries, the beseiged officials were attempting to buy their way out of trouble by giving workers and peasants railway tickets and travel money and sending them off to Peking "to air complaints." In some places huge wage increases were handed out and people were urged to take over public buildings for their own use.

A second current had developed that augured ill for

* *Hsinhua,* Dec. 28, 1966, op. cit.

the Cultural Revolution. As early as October 1966 the Red Guards and other militant Maoists were pressing for an open denunciation campaign against Liu Shao-ch'i, Teng Hsiao-p'ing and other top officials who at the time were already somewhat in disgrace. The fall of such giants as P'eng Chen, Lu Ting-yi, Lo Jui-ch'ing and Chou Yang had opened a pandora's box. At the Central Committee Work Conference held in late October, Mao is reported to have reviewed the question of Liu and Teng. He was quoted as saying: "If they clearly admit their mistakes, they must be forgiven and they must be given a chance for rehabilitation. I do not support the putting up of wall newspapers in city streets concerning the Liu-Teng question...Even though the mistakes were the same, the P'eng Chen group banded together secretly, whereas the Liu-Teng group committed the mistakes openly."* Despite Mao's admonition against public attacks, they soon began to appear.

The information available suggests wall posters attacking Liu and Teng by name first turned up in November. A correspondent of the Japanese paper *Asahi Shimbun* reported seeing an anti-Liu poster in Tientsin on November 8. Another poster signed by Nieh Yuan-tzu was reported by the same paper as having been seen in Shanghai on November 15.** By mid-December the tide of criticism had swelled to uncontrollable proportions. How far the wall poster and slogan writing fever had developed was best reflected by the December 17 (soon after Peking's first snowfall of the winter) appearance of the slogan "down with the bourgeois reactionary line" written with ink on the white mantle covering Tien An Men Square.*** The city

* *Yomiuri Shimbun,* Tokyo, Jan. 8, 1967, quoting Red Guard wall posters.
** *Asahi Shimbun,* Tokyo, Dec. 24, 1966.
*** *Mainichi Shimbun,* Tokyo, Dec. 1966.

was buried in white: in snow and paper.

That same evening Chiang Ch'ing was reported to have attended a rally for Red Guards at the Peking Workers Athletic Hall along with Ch'en Po-ta. When asked whether those opposing Mao should be criticized publicly by name, she replied: "I would not foul my tongue with the names of the handful of men who are maintaining the bourgeois reactionary line."* Chiang Ch'ing appeared to be actively engaged in meeting Red Guards in the last days of December, 1966. She was reported to have told another group on December 29 that a self-criticism made in late October by Liu Shao-ch'i was "a hoax" and "Party leaders do not believe it." She described Liu as "a Khrushchev-like person."**

At the turn of the year the Cultural Revolution was a confused revolution. The need to get the nation under some form of control was evident in the break-neck pace of Chou En-lai, Ch'en Po-ta and Chiang Ch'ing as they hurried from meeting to meeting, dressing down unruly Red Guards, urging a more disciplined approach and trying to explain in simple terms how the Cultural Revolution should be conducted. Typical of the many meetings Chou, Ch'en and Chiang Ch'ing were attending was the one held on January 8 to meet Red Guards from the Peking Petroleum Institute. Chiang Ch'ing told the gathering that it was essential "to make a distinction between people in high offices who make mistakes but remain faithful to the line of Mao Tse-tung, and those who stubbornly, intentionally are following the bourgeois reactionary line." At the same rally Chou En-lai invoked the name of Mao in an attempt to halt the mounting disorder. "Chairman Mao does not

* *Nihon Keizai,* Tokyo, Dec. 24, 1966, quoting Red Guard wall posters.

** *Yomiuri Shimbun,* Tokyo, Jan. 2, 1967.

want you to go to excess...we must thoroughly smash the bourgeois reactionary line represented by Liu and Teng but this should be distinguished from the excesses in individual attacks against them."* The appeals had little effect, and confusion continued to reign supreme.

In one sense the chaotic situation worked in Chiang Ch'ing's favor. With her high rank in the organization ostensibly directing the Cultural Revolution, she moved with awesome authority as she gained public exposure. That authority was enhanced on January 11 when the Cultural Revolution Group of the People's Liberation Army was reorganized and she was named its advisor. But power and public exposure opens an individual to scrutiny and censure by others, particularly when scrutiny and censure are the fashion of the day. So it was hardly surprising that in mid-January wall posters in Peking began attacking her. She was criticized by some for monopolizing Mao's thought, by others for giving her judgment on everything. One poster suggested she did not pay enough attention to Mao's teachings. Another that she should go home and knit. A poster that appeared in February offered: "Chiang Ch'ing is a woman of low level, and her mistakes, leniently regarded, are that her bourgeois thoughts have not yet been reformed and that she cannot understand proletarian matters. Regarded severely, I cannot but suspect that she is ambitious."**

* *Asahi Shimbun,* Jan. 11, 1967, op. cit.

** *Mainichi Shimbun,* Feb. 6, 1967, op. cit. This criticism came in the form of a letter written by a high school girl belonging to the Red Guards United Action Committee. This organization was composed of the sons and daughters of Party officials implicated with Liu, Teng, P'eng and the others. It was later banned as a reactionary organization. This group appears to have held a special aversion for Chiang Ch'ing. It was later accused of gathering "black materials" to be used against her. (See *Chingkang Shan,* Peking, Jan. 23, 1967, in *Survey of China Mainland Press,* No. 3905, March 23, 1967, American Consulate General, Hong Kong).

The wall poster attacks lasted only briefly, and there was never really any question as to the strength of her position.

By late January, pro-Mao Revolutionary Rebels were appearing in all parts of the country and laying claim to power. Reports of bloody clashes, revealed mostly by wall posters, were being received from all over the country. The opposition was putting up stubborn resistance. The *Liberation Army Daily* on January 25 published an editorial urging army units to "support the proletarian revolutionaries" in their efforts to seize power, and debunking the idea that the army should maintain an attitude of non-intervention. The army moved in to help restore at least a semblance of order, to help the Revolutionary Rebels and Red Guards seize power. During the last week of January, Rebels in at least eight provinces were proclaiming power seizures. Only three of these — Heilungkiang, Kweichow and Shansi — were officially acknowledged by Peking, along with the initial takeover in Shanghai. The others, announced over the provincial radio of the provinces concerned, were never publicly accepted by the Maoist leadership. In some cases they were suspected of being "fake seizures."

The "January Revolution," the term applied to the upheaval and power struggle that roared through the first month of the year, entered February with a groan. Only one other province, Shantung, was to experience an acceptable Rebel takeover. This occurred on February 3, but was not announced by Peking until March 1.* Elsewhere the confusion and chaos were turning into anarchy as the rival Red Guard and Revolutionary Rebel Factions, joined by those who had little stomach for either, played a monster game of "king of the mountain." On February 5 one of the most curious developments of the Cultural Revolution occurred. At a rally of one million people in the pace-

* *Hsinhua News Agency*, Tsinan, March 1, 1967.

setting city of Shanghai the establishment of the Shanghai People's Commune was proclaimed. The Shanghai People's Broadcasting Station declared: "Under the illumination of Mao Tse-tung's Thought, a new form of proletarian dictatorship — a local state organ called 'The Shanghai People's Commune' — has been born. It is a new Paris Commune in the 60's of the 20th century, conforming to the conditions of the proletarian dictatorship. It is an outstanding contribution made by Chairman Mao to international communism."

The day before, the Hsinhua News Agency had released the news that on January 28 a Revolutionary Committee had been set up in Taiyuan, Shansi Province, as the provisional organ of power until the city was able to establish "The Taiyuan Commune." Wall posters appearing in Peking on January 29 claimed that a "Peking Revolutionary Rebel Commune" had been formed to rule that city."* But the Shanghai Radio proclamation on February 5 was the first official claim of a Commune government having actually been set up. What was equally interesting was that the two men named to head the Commune were Chang Ch'un-ch'iao and Yao Wen-yuan.** Both were members of the Party Central Committee Cultural Revolution Group; both were close associates of Chiang Ch'ing.

This Commune movement was short-lived. Within three weeks after the Shanghai Commune was announced it no longer was being mentioned by Shanghai Radio, and had never been mentioned by the national press and radio in Peking. Mention of communes in other parts of the country also ceased. Wall posters appeared in Peking claiming that Mao had condemned the Commune movement

* *Mainichi Shimbun*, Tokyo, Jan. 30, 1967.

** Shanghai Radio, Feb. 5, 1967. Although the Shanghai People's Commune was proclaimed as having been established, a provisional committee was formed to handle its affairs.

and ordered a halt to it. No official mention, however, was ever made of these developments nor were explanations offered. What went wrong with the movement is one of the great enigmas of the Cultural Revolution. With two men from the Cultural Revolution Group involved in the Shanghai Commune, it seems unlikely that Mao was not behind the effort. Greater strength is given this assumption by the fact that Chiang Ch'ing openly supported the creation of such communes. On the evening of February 1, accompanied by Ch'i Pen-yu, she met with representatives of the Central Newsreel and Documentary Film Studio and the August 1 Film Studio. When four members of the August 1 Studio told her they had been bribed with offers of being promoted to staff officers by one of the Studio's leaders, Chiang Ch'ing remarked: "Don't be an official. 'Chiefs' should be smashed. From now on we don't want 'chiefs.' We want people's communes."* If Mao had, in fact, all along opposed the creation of new state organs based on the commune system, it would mean that the Cultural Revolution Group, and Chiang Ch'ing, was operating in opposition to Mao and without his approval. Subsequent developments did not suggest that to be the case.

The growing disorder and the seeming inability of the Red Guards and Revolutionary Rebels to grasp the subtleties of Mao's grand design (which could be one explanation of the retreat from the communes) led the Maoist leadership to apply a touch of the brakes. On March 1 the *People's Daily* printed an article only too appropriately entitled "Down With Anarchism!" During the first week of that month calls began going out for the resumption of classes in primary and middle schools. Everyone was urged to

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* *Combat Bulletin of Mao Tse-tung's Doctrine,* Peking, No. 2, Feb. 23, 1967, in *Survey of China Mainland Press,* No. 3902, March 20, 1967, American Consulate General, Hong Kong.

put aside differences and form great alliances so that the revolution could be carried on.

Chiang Ch'ing continued to be extremely active about this time. On February 22 she attended a Red Guard rally to celebrate the formation of the Congress of Red Guards of universities and colleges in the capital. Chou En-lai, Ch'en Po-ta, K'ang Sheng and Chiang Ch'ing spoke at the rally, but official reports on the meeting gave excerpts only of the speech by Chou En-lai.* At the Conference of Former Poor and Lower-Middle Peasants which opened in Peking on March 19, Chiang Ch'ing again appeared. But she was not reported as having addressed the gathering. Nor did she apparently speak at the conference three days later of the Representatives of Peking Revolutionary Workers and Staff. As had happened on the previous occasion, only speeches by Chou En-lai and Ch'en Po-ta were officially reported. It was beginning to appear that Chiang Ch'ing had run into difficulties. Since the previous November she had addressed virtually every gathering she attended, and if the meetings were reported in the official press her remarks were always noted.

Doubts about her position quickly vanished, however, for on March 25 she attended a meeting to inaugurate the Congress of Middle School Red Guards in Peking. She and Chou En-lai were the principal speakers, and the reports on the meeting devoted a good deal of attention to her remarks. She urged the Red Guards to return to their classrooms to carry on the revolution there. The majority of middle school teachers and cadres, she said, were good or comparatively good. As for those students who had made mistakes, they should be educated and helped to correct their errors. "The struggle must be conducted by

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* *Hsinhua News Agency,* Peking, March 2, 1967.

reasoning," she stressed, "not by force."*

At the beginning of April the Cultural Revolution entered a new stage, one marked by the beginning of the public condemnation of Liu Shao-ch'i (though not by name) as "the biggest Party power-holder taking the capitalist road" and by continued unrest and violence in many parts of the country. This stage, in fact, was to last through the year 1967. In the early attacks against Liu, the criticism centered on his attitude toward cultural affairs. The film "Inside Story of the Ching Court" came under open fire, and Liu was charged with promoting this kind of culture. In several of the articles on this film, Chiang Ch'ing was hailed for "waging a tit-for-tat struggle" against Liu and his group. It seems more than coincidental that these early attacks centered on literary and artistic affairs. The imprint of Chiang Ch'ing's hand was all but visible. As if to confirm this, emphasis on China's cultural life again came to the fore. On April 18, Ch'en Po-ta, K'ang Sheng, Chiang Ch'ing and other leaders of the Cultural Revolution Group attended a performance of the revolutionary ballet "The White-Haired Girl." A week later, on April 24, Mao, Lin Piao and Chou En-lai also saw the ballet, following a reception for the leading members of the six revolutionary committees (those of Shansi, Kweichow, Heilungkiang, and Shantung provinces and Peking and Shanghai municipalities) that had managed to appear. Chiang Ch'ing was at the reception and accompanied the group to see the ballet. Chou En-lai, Ch'en Po-ta, K'ang Sheng, Chiang Ch'ing and other leaders also turned out on April 26 for a performance of the symphony "Shachiapang." Chiang Ch'ing's other public appearance that month was on April 20 at the inauguration of the Peking Revolutionary Committee. This occasion marked one of the high points in her rising pro-

* *Kuang-ming Daily*, Peking, March 27, 1967.

minence. She shared the speakers platform with Premier Chou En-lai, Vice Premier Hsieh Fu-chih who had been named to head the new Peking Revolutionary Committee and Chang Ch'un-chiao, her long-time aide and head of the Shanghai Revolutionary Committee. This was no simple gathering of Red Guards; nor was it on the level of meetings of literary and art workers. After months of political struggle, the capital's Red Guards and Revolutionary Rebels had finally been able to unite and join the still exclusive list of those who had seized power and won official approval for their action. It was indeed a solemn and significant occasion. Chiang Ch'ing spoke on behalf of the Cultural Revolution Group; her speech, like those of Chou, Hsieh and Chang, was published in full by *People's Daily*.*

The glory of April, the great build-up of her name and rank and power, surged onward through May. At the celebrations for International Labor Day on May 1, she accompanied Mao and other leaders in a noon-time motorcade call on people gathered at the Working People's Palace of Culture and Chungshan Park, west of Tien An Men Square. That evening she also was on hand for the fireworks display and reception on the Tien An Men Gate rostrum of all the members of the Peking Revolutionary Committee and the representatives of the Revolutionary Committees in Shanghai and Shansi Province. Her moment of moments, however, was yet to come. On May 9, 1967, the No. 6 issue of the Party Central Committee's theoretical journal *Red Flag* published the text of her July 1964 speech at the Festival of Peking Opera on Contemporary Themes. The following day, *People's Daily* and *Liberation Army Daily* — the civilian and military national newspapers — splashed her speech across their front pages. Both those papers, as well as the local Peking press, republished the

* *People's Daily*, April 21, 1967.

Red Flag editorial that had accompanied her speech. "Illuminated by the radiance of the great thought of Mao Tse-tung, guided by Comrade Chiang Ch'ing and with the efforts of the great numbers of revolutionary comrades in Peking opera circles, new revolutionary Peking Opera finally broke through much resistance to burst forth from the old fortress of emperors and kings, generals and ministers, scholars and beauties." The publication of Chiang Ch'ing's speech was a proclamation of victory over the old masters of China's literature and art. It also was an announcement of the new master, Comrade Chiang Ch'ing.

Through the blistering, tumultuous summer of 1967 Chiang Ch'ing rode the crest of her now-confirmed authority. When literature and the arts were involved, she was there in the center of the stage, guiding, directing and accepting with obvious pleasure the adulation bestowed upon her. At the rally on May 23 to celebrate the 25th anniversary of Mao's "Talks at the Yenan Forum on Literature and Art," Chiang Ch'ing presided. The speakers, Ch'en Po-ta, Ch'i Pen-yu and a number of literary and artistic workers, all found occasion to heap praise on the lady "who always persisted in and defended Chairman Mao's revolutionary line on literature and art" and "who has made immense contributions in the theatrical arts, music, the dance and other fields."* Statements Mao had made on China's cultural affairs on May 20, 1951, December 12, 1963, and June 27, 1964, were published in the Chinese press. On May 28, the summary of the Forum on Literature and Art in the Armed Forces held from February 2-20, 1966, under the direction of Chiang Ch'ing, was released by the Hsinhua News Agency.

The stroke that was to write the high point of the months-long campaign to establish the Chiang Ch'ing image

* *Hsinhua News Agency,* May 23, 1967.

was even then being readied. And on June 5, at the closing ceremony of the six-day seminar sponsored by the Afro-Asian Writers' Bureau to commemorate Mao's "Yenan Talks," China's dean of literature and art, Kuo Mo-jo, stepped to the podium. After a few words of introduction, he offered to the assembled Chinese leaders (including Chiang Ch'ing) and foreign guests a poem dedicated to "Comrade Chiang Ch'ing, and also to the other comrades and fellow students present here." The first section of the poem lauded the work being done by the Afro-Asian writers. The second speaks for itself:

Dear Comrade Chiang Ch'ing, you are the fine example
for us to follow,
You are good at creatively studying and applying the
invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung.
Fearlessly, you charge forward on the literary and art
front,
Thus, the heroic image of the workers, peasants and
soldiers now dominates the Chinese stage;
And we must do the same for the stage the world over!
China's yesterday is the today of many Afro-Asian
Countries.
And China's today will be their tomorrow.
We will fight for the complete emancipation of the
oppressed nations and peoples,
We will fly the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's
thought over the Afro-Asian countries,
And over the six continents and the four seas.*

Nothing could top that outpouring by Kuo Mo-jo; anything else would have proved an anti-climax. Chiang Ch'ing continued during the following weeks to attend cultural performances, and to be photographed with the performers. With Mao and Lin Piao she saw in June the

* *Peking Review,* No. 24, June 9, 1967.

revolutionary Peking operas "Taking the Bandits' Stronghold" and "On the Docks," both of which she had helped bring to the stage. She also turned up at receptions, including one held on July 7 for the delegates to the Conference of the Chinese People's Liberation Army on Military Training. But by mid-summer she began to drift away from the intense involvement in cultural affairs that had marked the previous months. She had conquered the summit of literature and art. Other problems were demanding attention.

Chaotic, confused conditions existed in many parts of the country. Three months passed after the founding of the Peking Revolutionary Committee in April before the next Revolutionary Committee was proclaimed.* The end of July brought new efforts to set up revolutionary organizations in China's other provinces, efforts carried out against a backdrop of bloody and widescale fighting. The military commander in the central China city of Wuhan had even risen up in revolt against the Maoist leadership, threatening for a few days to cast the nation into civil war. August dawned like January had. The fissiparous nation seemed on the brink of collapse. Wall posters in Peking reported that selected Red Guards and other revolutionary groups had been given arms; in other areas they simply took them from military arsenals. Moving to forestall the looming civil war, Mao and his group issued stringent orders for the warring factions to cease and desist. To make the point clear, a series of carefully staged public trials and executions began. The first trial and execution, in Shanghai on August 28, was televised. Others were held in Peking, Tsingtao (Shantung), Inner Mongolia, Heilungkiang and a half dozen other areas. The use of firearms was banned.

* A Revolutionary Committee for Chinghai Province was set up on August 8.

The army began taking a tougher stand. Yet the violence spilled over into September and the situation showed few signs of improvement.

It was in these months of July, August and September that Chiang Ch'ing appears to have stepped down from the cultural stage and mounted the political one. At an Enlarged Meeting of the Peking Revolutionary Committee on September 1, Chiang Ch'ing, Ch'en Po-ta, K'ang Sheng and Hsieh Fu-chih (apparently speaking in that order) admonished those who were involved in quarrels and violent struggles. Chen Po-ta declared that the Cultural Revolution was "once again at an important turning point." He denounced the factionalism that had appeared, ordered those Peking students still in other parts of the country to return by September 11, and indicated disapproval of the anti-foreign activities that were being staged. Chiang Ch'ing spoke against the trend of anarchism and devoted considerable attention to condemning attacks on the army. "The slogan of going everywhere to pluck out a small group of individuals within the army is mistaken. Making trouble among our own Army is just like tearing down the Great Wall" (i.e., China's defenses).* Chiang Ch'ing also mentioned that the day before she had gone with Chou En-lai to hear about the situation in Szechuan province. On how many other occasions she was involved in trying to settle disputes is difficult to say. But it was soon made clear that she had taken up a weighty authority over political as well as cultural affairs.

On September 5 Chiang Ch'ing delivered a speech in Peking to representatives of two factions from Anhwei Province. It was an expanded, more detailed version of her address on September 1, calling for an end to factional warfare and attacks on the military, the Central Committee

* As reported in a Red Guard newspaper seen in Peking.

and the Cultural Revolution Group. She urged the revolutionary factions to put aside their differences, engage in self-criticism and thus unite to form new revolutionary organizations. On September 9 the Administrative Office of the Party Central Committee issued a notice calling on "proletarian revolutionaries of the whole country to earnestly study Comrade Chiang Ch'ing's statement on September 5." Revolutionary Committees, military control committees and revolutionary mass organizations were ordered to organize meetings to listen to a tape recording of her speech.* Only Mao and Lin Piao had been so honored before. Chiang Ch'ing had climbed to heaven itself, had been given a seal of power that — with the exception of Mao, Lin and heaven — was seemingly inviolable.

By China's National Day on October 1 the most critical moments of upheaval and unrest had passed, although the situation remained uncertain. The huge celebration that unfolded in Peking's Tien An Men Square was totally immersed in Mao-thought and reflection on the changes the Cultural Revolution had wrought. Chiang Ch'ing, of course, mounted the rostrum with the other leaders. From there, looking down into the sun-filled square at the massive parade passing in review, she saw the literary and art fighters of the People's Liberation Army carrying a model of "Main Points of Forum on Literature and Art in Armed Forces Convened by Comrade Chiang Ch'ing under the Instruction of Comrade Lin Piao." Following them in eight cars were performers involved in the "eight exemplary works" that had appeared during the Cultural Revolution: the revolutionary Peking operas "Red Lantern," "Shachiapang," "Taking the Bandit's Stronghold," "Raid on White Tiger Regiment," and "On the Docks;" the revolutionary ballets "Red Detachment of Women," and "The White-Haired

* *Hsinhua News Agency,* Peking, Sept. 16 ,1967.

Girl;" and the revolutionary symphony "Shachiapang." These were the fruit of Chiang Ch'ing's labor.*

For the rest of 1967 she seemed to drift away from the public spotlight, appearing only occasionally before Red Guard groups or at receptions. In the final days of the year, in fact, she disappeared completely, failing even to show up at a New Year's reception attended by Mao. This gave rise to widespread speculation that she had fallen from grace. In all likelihood she had simply taken temporary leave of her public role, perhaps retiring to the more pleasant climes of South China to rest. Whatever the explanation for her nearly two-month disappearance, Chiang Ch'ing was again at Mao's side when on January 26, 1968, he and the other central leaders received activists of the People's Liberation Army in the study of Mao's works.** In the days that followed she resumed her activities in helping to direct the Cultural Revolution. And there was every reason to believe she would continue to wield her new-found authority. For the woman who rose from a shattered homelife in her native Shantung, to the trials of the rough and tumble Shanghai movie world of the 30's, to the caves of Yenan, to the 18-year struggle over literature and art in a Communist China, could indeed be expected to fight for what she had won. It had not come easily.

* *Hsinhua News Agency* (Chinese service), Peking, Oct. 1, 1967.

** *Hsinhua News Agency,* Peking, Jan. 26, 1968.

POSTSCRIPT

This portrait of Madame Mao Tse-tung would not be complete without some attempt to analyze her personality and assess the role she has been playing in China's recent affairs. Yet that is a formidable task. Chiang Ch'ing, this book notwithstanding, remains a distant, obscure and generally unknown quantity. It is possible to catch glimpses of her personality, but the nagging question is how true a picture these fleeting brush strokes really paint. Furthermore, Chiang Ch'ing is at this writing still alive, and no final conclusions can or should be drawn about an individual who has yet to finish writing his or her own life story. As for her political role in China, as we shall see shortly, there is hardly a concensus among present-day analysts. The best one can do is rely on the available facts and keep conjecture to a minimum.

With those qualifications in mind, the Madame Mao who emerges from this portrait is a woman of considerable self-esteem, ambition, dedication and sincerity. In her public role she evokes the image of a matron: at times the stern disciplinarian, at times the understanding, kind-

hearted pillar of strength that others turn to in moments of dispair. That she delights in the prominence and authority the Cultural Revolution has given her seems obvious, and is even understandable. From her earliest years she has exuded self-confidence to the degree to extroversion, a personality trait that likely helped push her toward the stage and the bright lights. Unbridled enthusiasm for whatever she attempts is another aspect of her nature that is as evident today as during her days on the stage. Yet now as then her gregariousness is combined with an incongruous reticence. Admirers who have met her in recent years describe her as self-effacing, despite the great attention that has been focused on her. She is, they say, modest, charming and possessed of a keenly disciplined mind.

This, of course, hardly squares with the popular image the outside world has of Chiang Ch'ing. More often than not she is characterized as a demagogue or a merciless harpy at the beck and call of her husband. Still others have viewed her as the worst sort of harridan, a virago who lashes out at any and all to reach her selfish ends. She is accused of being responsible for the worst excesses of the Red Guards, for the violence, bloodshed and destruction that followed in their wake. With each new radical turn of the Cultural Revolution, an accusing finger has been thrust at Chiang Ch'ing. For she is considered by many to be both the symbol and leader of the extremist elements in China.

The evidence does not bear out that conclusion. The characterization of Chiang Ch'ing as a political extremist motivated by personal political aims is derived almost entirely from inference and from questionable references to her in equally questionable Red Guard publications. To be sure, various Cultural Revolution developments have

given cause for suspicion of her political outlook, of her stand in comparison to the allegedly milder approach of Chou En-lai, Lin Piao and even Mao Tse-tung. It is useful to examine some of these developments and arguments, as well as the historical and psychological impact of Mao's wife suddenly becoming a significant political figure, to understand how the popular image of her has evolved.

China, despite its present Communist rule, is still not far removed from the old imperial days, from the influence and ideas of those days and from the concepts of dynastic change. Two of the most lasting and widely held beliefs from China's past are that history is repetitive and that court intrigues — only too often the work of ambitious empresses and concubines — are to be expected. There are indeed deep historical roots for these concepts. The Han Emperor Kao Tsu (206-195 B.C.) nearly lost his throne to his empress. The Tang Emperor Kao Tsung (649-683 A.D.) was not so lucky. His concubine, Wu-hou Tse-t'ien, succeeded in usurping his throne and proclaimed herself Empress in 684 A.D. It was, of course, not to be the last attempt by an empress or royal concubine to manipulate the throne. In 1472, for example, the Lady Wen instigated the murder of the heir to the throne, the son of a rival concubine. More recently, in 1898 the Ching Emperor Kuang Hsu was imprisoned by his hot-tempered aunt, Tzu Hsi, who ruled as the Dowager Empress until her death in 1908.

The fact of court intrigue, of empresses and concubines seeking the throne is thus embedded in Chinese tradition. There is even an old saying that describes the danger of losing the state to a woman: "When the hen crows at dawn, the nation is in peril." That being the case, it is not surprising that many have viewed the rise of Chiang Ch'ing from that historical perspective, and, in fact, the attempts

by the ladies of old to usurp power are frequently cited in commentaries on the present-day empress, Madame Mao, and her probable designs. It is a romantic notion that conjures up exciting possibilities, and it carries with it the concomitant requirement that the would-be usurper follow a ruthless and perhaps even violent course. From the idea of Madame Mao being involved in court intrigue — though in this context not against Mao but against his enemies and for her own aggrandizement — there evolves the conclusion that she must be responsible for the violence and turmoil of the Cultural Revolution, and that she must be using the same ruthless approach as the empresses of old.

To support this conclusion various examples of her "extremism" are cited: the brutal language Chiang Ch'ing has used in condemning her most important rival, Wang Kuang-mei, the wife of disgraced State Chairman Liu Shao-ch'i; the fact that in July 1967 — a time of internecine upheaval — she advised the Red Guards and Maoist Revolutionary Rebels that although they should oppose violent struggle they should also defend themselves if attacked. For a while the blame for the slogan "drag out the handful of power-holders in the Army taking the capitalist road" was placed on her doorstep, but now that the real culprits have been identified that "example" has been dropped.

Chiang Ch'ing also has been cited as the sponsor of the Red Guards, particularly the more militant elements. Yet again this conclusion is drawn by inference from the fact that she frequently addressed Red Guard groups and, though invariably urging non-violent struggle and restraint, lauded what they were doing. Her remarks to and about the Red Guards, however, differed little from those of Chou En-lai, Lin Piao and the other senior leaders. Although the evidence might exist, the authors have seen nothing to indicate that Chiang Ch'ing was behind the original organiza-

tion of the Red Guards or that they later came under her direct sponsorship.

The most convincing evidence for those who argue the line of an extremist Madame Mao comes from the purge of many of her presumed close associates in the Cultural Revolution Group under the Central Committee. Of the 17 known members of that Group, only four had survived by the spring of 1968: Chen Po-ta, the Group's head, Chiang Ch'ing, the 1st Deputy, Yao Wen-yuan and Chang Chun-chiao. The most significant blow came early in 1968 with the fall of Chi Pen-yu, a man believed to have been extremely close to Chiang Ch'ing and one of her earliest aides in the Cultural Revolution movement. There is good reason to believe that Chiang Ch'ing had placed considerable trust in Chi, for he held sway over the Cultural Revolution Group's Literary and Art Section — Chiang Ch'ing's prized domain. Chi Pen-yu, like others formerly with the Cultural Revolution Group including Wang Li, Kuan Feng, Mu Hsin and Lin Chieh, were ousted for being "ultra-leftists," i.e., extremists.

In the aftermath of the collapse of that group, it has been revealed in Red Guard publications that in the autumn of 1967 Chiang Ch'ing criticized Chi Pen-yu. He is said to have accepted the criticism, vowing no doubt to improve his style of work, while covertly collecting "black materials" against Chiang Ch'ing. How much trust can be put in these reports is difficult to say. They might well have been distributed in an attempt to protect Chiang Ch'ing and the remaining members of the Cultural Revolution Group. On the other hand, as pointed out in an earlier chapter, it was Chiang Ch'ing who drew Mao's attention to two of Chi's associates, Kuan Feng and Wang Li, both of whom also were under her command and whose fall would cast doubt on her own position. Yet she apparently did not hesitate

in casting them to the wolves.

In the absence of more concrete evidence one must accept at face value, however precarious that approach may be, the available facts about and known statements by Chiang Ch'ing. From those, of which this book is composed, the conclusion to be drawn is one of a Madame Mao who fully reflects and espouses the policies of her husband. She has time and again spoken out — along with Mao, Chou En-lai and Lin Piao — against the violence, anarchy and power ploys of the more extremist elements active during the Cultural Revolution. It is possible to draw a speculative and convenient polarization of the central leadership, to place Chou and Lin in the moderate camp and to place Chiang Ch'ing and, say, Chen Po-ta in the radical camp. But it is difficult to accept that when all of these central figures, whether speaking at the same of separate rallies, put forth the same basic policies and philosophy.

This chapter, however, is not meant to be a defense of Madame Mao against the large section of analysts who have characterized her as a political extremist. Rather it is intended to state what is known about her spectacular rise and the approach she has adopted in wielding her newfound authority.

One question remains. Why has Chiang Ch'ing emerged from years of retirement to become involved in the rigorous and tiring business of politics? She is not, frequent reports indicate, in good health. And yet she is devoting enormous amounts of energy to Mao's cause. Why? The answer must of necessity be of a speculative nature, for it is not possible to put the question to the lady herself. Three immediate possibilities come to mind: first, she is simply fulfilling her own ambitions; second, she was called to battle by Mao at a time when he was anxious over who he could or could not trust; finally, she was considered by Mao to

be worthy of the responsible job she was given, especially as it concerned literature and the arts. The answer probably includes an element of each of those possibilities. Chiang Ch'ing's ambitiousness has been recorded on numerous occasions in this protrait and requires little expansion here. Considering that so many of China's high and mighty were on Mao's purge list at the beginning of the Cultural Revolution, it is easy to understand that he might be apprehensive about those around him. Certainly, after nearly 30 years of marriage, he could trust his own wife. As for his confidence in her ability to make of literature and the arts, especially the dramatic arts, what he desired, that too seems plausible. No doubt she had been fully baptized in Mao's much-heralded concepts of proper revolutionary culture. Her reform of the screen and the stage in full conformity with the Maoist design is testimony to the validity of his confidence.

Many questions about Chiang Ch'ing remain unanswered and, at the moment at any rate, unanswerable. What her eventual fate will be in the post-Cultural Revolution period is impossible to say. Nor is it possible to foresee what might happen to her once Mao is dead and no longer there with the awesome strength and authority that has given her life meaning and security. In the years immediately ahead she seems certain to leave her own particular mark on China. And if the Cultural Revolution has done nothing else for her, it has given her a place in the annals of great women in China's ancient and ever-unfolding history.

APPENDICES

I. SPEECHES OF CHIANG CH'ING

Here are ten reports about speeches made by Chiang Ch'ing from July 1964 to September 1967. Some of these are transcripts from tape-recording; some are summaries or minutes of the talks. — Editor

CHIANG CH'ING ON REVOLUTION OF PEKING OPERA

(Hsinhua News Agency-English, Peking, May 9, 1967)

The Chinese Communist Party Central Committee's theoretical journal *Red Flag* in its latest issue publishes a speech, "On the Revolution of Peking Opera," which was made in July, 1964 by Chiang Ch'ing at a forum attended by theatrical artists and workers participating in a festival of Peking opera on contemporary themes.

In her speech, Chiang Ch'ing used the thought of Mao Tse-tung to explain the great significance of the revolution of Peking opera and developed the guiding principles of Chairman Mao on this question. The speech is an important document in applying Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought to the solution of problems concerning the revolution of Peking opera.

The text of the speech reads as follows:

I offer you my congratulations on the festival, for which you have worked so hard. This is the first campaign in the revolution of Peking opera. It has achieved promising results and will have relatively far-reaching influence.

Peking opera on revolutionary, contemporary themes has now been staged. But, do we all look at it in the same way? In my view, we still cannot say we do.

Our confidence in the ability of Peking opera to bring to life revolutionary, contemporary themes must be unshakable. It is inconceivable that the dominating positions on the stage throughout our socialist country, which is led by the Chinese Communist Party, should not be occupied by the workers, peasants and soldiers, the real creators of history and the true masters of our country. We should create literature and art which protect our socialist economic base. In the event that we are not clear about our orientation, we should do well to become clear. At this point I would like to provide you with two sets of figures for your reference. These figures strike me as astonishing.

Here is the first set: According to rough statistics, there are 3,000 theatrical companies in the country (not including amateur troupes and unlicensed companies). Among these 3,000 companies there are about 90 professional drama companies and over 80 cultural work teams and the rest, over 2,800 of them, are all opera companies of various kinds. Our operatic stage is occupied by emperors and kings, generals and ministers, scholars and beauties, and, on top of these, monsters and devils. Those 90 drama companies do not necessarily all depict the workers, peasants and soldiers either. They, too, lay stress on staging full-length plays, foreign plays and plays on ancient themes. So we may say that the dramatic stage is also occupied by ancient Chinese and foreign figures. Theaters are places

where we can educate the people, but now every stage is dominated by emperors and kings, generals and ministers, scholars and beauties, dominated by feudal and bourgeois stuff. This state of affairs cannot serve to protect but will actually destroy our economic base.

And here is the second set of figures: there are well over 600 million workers, peasants and soldiers in our country, whereas there is only a handful of landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements, rightists and bourgeois elements. Shall we serve this handful or the well over 600 million? This question calls for consideration not only by communists but also by those art and literary workers who have patriotic thinking. The grain we eat is grown by peasants, the clothes we wear are woven by workers and the houses we live in are built by them, and the People's Liberation Army is guarding the front line of our national defense. And yet we fail to portray these people on the stage. May I ask which class stand you artists take? And where is the artists' conscience that you are always talking about?

For Peking opera to present revolutionary contemporary themes may well not be all plain sailing, but, if you consider carefully the two sets of figures I have mentioned above, there may be no reverses or fewer. Even if reverses do occur, it won't matter, because the chariot of history always rolls forward on a zigzag course but its wheels can never be made to turn backward.

It is our view that revolutionary opera on contemporary themes must reflect life as it has actually been during the 15 years since the founding of our Republic, and that images of contemporary revolutionary heroes must be created on our operatic stage. This is our foremost task.

It is not true that we don't want historical operas. Revolutionary historical operas have formed no small pro-

portion of the program during the present festival. Historical operas portraying the life and struggle of the people before our Party came into being are also needed. Moreover, we need to foster some pace-setters, to produce some historical operas which are written truly from the standpoint of historical materialism and which can make the old serve the needs of today. Of course, we should take up historical operas only on the condition that the carrying out of the main task (of portraying contemporary life and creating images of workers, peasants and soldiers) is not impeded.

It is not true either that traditional operas are not needed. Except for operas acclaiming ghosts or acts of capitulation and treachery, good traditional operas can be staged freely. But, these traditional operas will have no audience worth mentioning unless they are carefully edited and revised. My systematic visiting of theaters for more than two years and my observation of both actors and audiences leads me to this conclusion. The editing and revising of traditional operas is something that will have to be done in the future, but this work must not become a substitute for the first task.

I will next discuss the question of where we ought to begin.

I think the key question is that you have to have plays. If you have only directors and performers and no plays there is nothing to be directed or acted. People say that plays form the basis of theatrical productions, and think this is quite true. Therefore attention must be devoted to creative writing.

These last few years the writing of new plays has lagged far behind real life. This is even more true in the writing of libretti for Peking opera. Playwrights are few and they lack experience of life. So it is only natural that no good plays are being created. The key to tackling the problem

of creative writing is the formation of a three-way combination on the leadership, the professional theatrical artists and the ordinary people. Recently, I studied the way in which "a great wall along the south coast" was created and I found that they too did it like this. First the leadership set the theme. Then the playwrights went three times to acquire experience on what life was really like. They even took part in a military operation to round up enemy spies. When the play was written, many leading members of the Kwangchow Military Command took part in discussions on it, and after it had been rehearsed, opinions were widely canvassed and revisions made. In this way, as a result of constantly asking for opinions and constantly making revisions they succeeded in creating in a comparatively short time such a good play that is a topical reflection of real life struggle.

In the case of the Shanghai Municipal Party Committee it was Comrade Ko Ching-shih who came to grips with this problem of creative writing. All localities must appoint able comrades to handle the question of creative writing.

It will be difficult for some time yet to create libretti directly for Peking opera. Nevertheless, people have to be appointed right now to do the job. They must first be given some special training and then go out to get some experience of life. They can begin by writing something small and gradually work out full-length operas. Small works, if well written, are also very valuable.

In creative writing, new forces must be cultivated. Send them out into the world and in three to five years they will blossom and bear fruit.

Another way to get plays is by making adaptations and this is also useful.

Theatrical items for adaptation must be carefully chosen, firstly according to whether or not they are good

politically and secondly according to whether or not they suit the conditions of the company concerned. Serious analysis of the original must be made when adapting it, its good points must be affirmed without unnecessary changes, while its weak points must be compensated. In adapting for Peking opera attention must be paid to two main questions: on the one hand the adaptations must insure that they are in keeping with the characteristics of Peking opera, with singing and acrobatics, and the words must fit in with the rhymes in Peking opera singing. The language characteristic of Peking opera must be adopted, otherwise the performers will not be able to sing. On the other hand, excessive concessions should not be made to the performers. An opera must have a clear-cut theme with a tightly knit structure and striking characters. It must never arise that, in order for a few principal performers to have star parts, the whole opera is made diffuse and flat.

Peking opera is an art that portrays things larger than life. At the same time, it has always depicted ancient times and people belonging to those times. Therefore, it is comparatively easy for Peking opera to portray negative characters and this is what some people like about it so much. On the other hand, it is very difficult to create positive characters, and yet we must build up characters of advanced revolutionary heroes. In the original version of the opera "Taking the Bandits' Stronghold" produced by Shanghai the negative characters stood out sharply, while the positive characters were quite colorless. Since the leadership attended to this question personally, this opera has been positively improved. Now, the scene about the Taoist Ting Ho has been deleted. The part of Sui Shan Tiao (the "Mountain Hawk" — nickname of the bandit leader) basically has not been altered (the actor who plays the part acts very well), but since the roles of Yang Tzu-jung and Shao Chien-po

have been made more prominent, the images of those negative characters have by comparison retreated into the background. It has been said that there are different views on this opera. Debates can be conducted on this subject. You must consider which side you stand on. Should you stand on the side of the positive characters or on the side of the negative characters? It has been said that there are still people who oppose writing about positive characters. This is not correct. Good people always account for the majority. This is true not only in the socialist countries, but even in imperialist countries, where the majority are laboring people. In revisionist countries, the revisionists are only a minority. We should place the emphasis on creating artistic images of advanced revolutionaries so as to educate and inspire the people and lead them forward. Our purpose in producing operas on contemporary revolutionary themes is mainly to acclaim the positive characters.

The opera "Little Heroic Sisters on the Grassland" performed by the Peking Opera Troupe of the Inner Mongolian Art Theater is very good. The librettist composed the material for this opera with his revolutionary feeling excited by the oustanding deeds of the two little heroines. The middle section of the opera is very moving, but because the librettist still lacks experience of real life, worked on it in haste and had no time to give it careful revision, the beginning and the end of the opera are not so good. As it is now, it looks like a beautiful painting placed in a rough frame. With regard to this opera, there is one point more to which importance should be attached, and that is that a Peking opera has been composed for our children. In short, this opera has a firm foundation and is good. I hope that you writers for the theater will go back to experience the life of the people and try your best to perfect your scripts.

In my opinion, we should treasure the fruits of our

labor, and shouldn't treat them lightly. Some comrades are unwilling to revise their completed works, but this prevents them from making bigger achievements. In this respect, Shanghai has set us a good example. Because the Shanghai artists have been willing to polish their scripts over and over again, they have succeeded in improving "Taking the Bandits' Stronghold" to what it is today. All the items in the repertory of the present festival should be given further polishing when you return home. The items which have been acknowledged as successful should not be thrown aside casually.

Before I finish I would like to express my hope that you will save some of your energy for studying one another's contributions to this festival so that people in all parts of the country will be able to see its achievements on the stage.

INSTRUCTIONS ON THE SYMPHONY "SHACHIAPANG"

(Kuang-tung Wen-i Chan-pao, July 5, 1967)

I. MAKING FOREIGN THINGS SERVE CHINA

1. The weapon is very good and, in my opinion, can very well serve the people and the revolution.

2. I hear that you are arguing among yourselves (referring to those engaged in Western music and those engaged in Chinese music) and that you (X X X) hold a different opinion. It appears to me that no matter what you are bickering it shows that you lack the revolutionary spirit. I have listened to music of the capitalist countries. The number of the so-called "classical" music is limited — only a few — and not much more has been achieved since. Nor is there much future in it. In fact, it has already been declining.

The bourgeois music has died down. You mustn't follow the foreigners to die. We must tread our own path. We should promote and develop things Chinese. It doesn't matter if we make mistakes. If we fall down we can rise again.

3. Be bold. Choose to follow your own road. Could

we believe that the music has reached its limit of development? Find a new way. We have our own national style.

4. The number of works of art belonging to the period when the bourgeoisie was on the ascendancy probably does not exceed 20, be it opera or ballet. And that's all the bourgeoisie has been able to accomplish in several hundred years. What reason is there for us to idolize them? The feudal class, too, has achieved very little in several thousand years. I believe we could accomplish something if we work hard for a few years.

5. You need not fear if we bring a number of things to the halt. Put it on the stage, polish it bit by bit. That is the right way to do it.

II. THE ROAD TO DEVELOPMENT FOR SYMPHONY

1. You can begin with operas. Of operas the Hopei *pang tzu* and Peking opera are comparatively better. Peking opera has absorbed the essence of many kinds of national opera and has a longer history of development. It is richer than the Hopei *pang tzu* in terms of music. You might experiment with Peking opera.

2. You might start with "Shachiapang". Try several sections as accompaniment first. Later on you might compose something on your own idea for the orchestra to play.

3. Folksongs are not suitable. The themes are all about "young lovers" or "meet her poverty-stricken boy and present him some money in the back part of garden"... How can they bring out the images of workers, peasants and soldiers? You must find something which can do this. And the nearest approach you can make is Peking opera.

4. I think this is the thing to do. Through solo and chorus you can gradually enrich your accompaniment. You don't have much to do with the stage. You can very well

take as reference the coloratura used as accompaniment in the past.

5. Have a full grasp of our national music and make a thorough study of it. Why don't you do this? Even the Western music we must also study thoroughly.

6. Don't follow the old rule. How can we not revolutionize things which only reflect the feudal class! Don't be afraid. Have no fear for any criticism people might make. Take it. Nothing wrong so long as you don't distort the heroic images.

7. Will the military song be used at the end of performance? The military song of the New Fourth Route Army, I mean.

III. CONCRETE INSTRUCTIONS AFTER FIRST REHEARSALS

1. This is an experiment of significance — an experiment conducted with the idea of nationalization of things and of adopting things of foreign origin for use in our country.

2. The way you go ahead is good. Anyway, it is better than follow the dead foreigners. Good! It shows your backbone. Will you go into it deeper?

3. The recitation is too quiet. You should rehearse more. Greater zeal should be expressed in it. The dialogue should be polished further. Don't give people the impression of crudeness. It should be refined.

4. You need not follow the Peking opera style when you walk on the stage. You can walk the natural way just as people do. The stylized steps seen on the stage originally portrays the way the young ladies of aristocratic class of the feudal society walk, and that we must correct.

5. Some further improvement can be made on the costume. Ah Ch'ing the sister-in-law is not a young girl.

She wears dark blue dress throughout the latter part of the opera. The color should be a bit more cheerful.

6. Further practice in dialogue is necessary. Even those playing in modern drama should make their colloquy sound musical. That is to say there should be variations in tone.

7. The point you should think over is how to use music to portray the image of a character playing the negative role. In Peking opera there is difficulty.

8. The melody would be sweet if the introductory singing were accompanied by *so na* (鎖吶) [a clarinet type of instrument]. If this instrument can be used in *erh huang* (二黃), the music will be just lovely.

9. I feel something is not quite right in rhythm. The singing does not come on the right note. The singer does not open his or her mouth at the right time and his or her voice is not in harmony with the music.

10. Try and create some tense feeling of the enemy by adding something depicting the presence of a steamboat in the "Spark Amid the Reeds." Otherwise, it sounds as if you were wrestling with Nature.

11. You have your own specific style when you appear on the stage. It is not necessary to have too many titles. There is nothing to limit you. People will not watch you how to pronounce a certain word... When you want to show the volume of your voice, just sing it that way. People won't say anything about it even if you sing a bit the "foreign" way.

12. To achieve the climax in singing the "Spark Amid the Reeds," you must sing the leading sentence loudly. After that you can sing in chorus, so that the singing will be rich in volume and also colorful. This may be followed by a military song or a march. In this way, it will carry the atmosphere of the times...

IV. SPECIFIC INSTRUCTIONS TO MEMBERS

1. Kuo Chien-kuang.

(a) His voice is all right. I think he can sing. This young man sings with feelings.

(b) Kuo Chien-kuang has some style. The only trouble is that he cannot achieve that "high pitch".

(c) I still suggest that you have a leading singer. The "high 8th degree" singing (referring to the leading sentence before the singing in chorus of the "evergreen pine") in the "Spark Amid the Reeds" should not be left out, as it would weaken the strength. You can put a little bench besides the chorus members and let the leading singer go there and stand on it to lead the singing. That sentence was originally omitted in "Shachiapang" but people all feel that it is not good, so it was restored later on.

(d) Since Kuo Chien-kuang has to lead others, he himself would not sing at the right moment. But his singing must be a little more rhythmic. Would it affect his vocal if he should sing as loudly as he can?

(e) He has a very good voice. It is properly exercised and controlled and is strong in quality.

2. Tiao Te-i should be more cunning. He must sing in a way which exposes his "craftiness." It is unnecessary to sound sweet. You have paid enough attention to the arrangement of musical instruments in this respect, but I think it demands greater attention. The tone in which this character sings may be a bit cold and shady, because he and his like used to kill our people.

V. INSTRUCTIONS ON "VOCAL" AND "THE STYLE OF SINGING"

1. The female voice deserves attention. Falsetto is used in soprano and Peking opera. We need a little true

voice because there is a dialogue in it. If singing is used all the way and along the pattern of Western vocal, I don't feel it is good, because it sounds too far removed from the revolutionary heroes ot today.

2. True voice and falsetto are adopted in all our local operas except in Peking opera. Do you think that it (Peking opera) should be pulled down a little. Can you do something about the female voice?

SUMMARY OF THE FORUM ON LITERATURE AND ART IN THE ARMED FORCES WITH WHICH COMRADE LIN PIAO ENTRUSTED COMRADE CHIANG CH'ING

Letter from Comrade Lin Piao to Responsible Comrades of Military Commission

(March 23, 1966)

Comrades X X, Nieh Jung-chen, Ch'en I, Liu Po-ch'eng, Hsu Hsiang-ch'ien and Yeh Chien-ying,

Enclosed herewith for your perusal are a letter of Comrade Chiang Ch'ing dated March 19 and the minutes of the forum on literary and art work in the armed forces which she convened. These minutes, which have been repeatedly studied by comrades attending the forum and thrice examined and revised by the Chairman, are a very good documents, which, by the application of the thought of Mao Tse-tung, has provided answers to many major questions of the cultural revolution in the socialist period. It is not only of extremely great practical significance but also of far-reaching historical significance.

For the last 16 years, a sharp class struggle has existed on the literary and art front, and the question of who wins over whom has not yet been settled. The

position of literature and art, if not occupied by the proletariat, will surely be taken over by the bourgeoisie. Struggle is inevitable. This is a broad and intensive socialist revolution in the ideological sphere, and unless it is properly carried out, revisionism will appear. We must hold high the great red banner of the thought of Mao Tse-tung and firmly and unswervingly carry this revolution through to the end.

The problems raised and opinions put forward in the minutes completely correspond with the actual situation of literary and art work in the armed forces and must be resolutely implemented so that politics will be brought to the fore in literary and art work in the armed forces, which in turn will play an important role in advancing the revolutionization of man.

If you have any opinions about the minutes, please let me know, in order that I may report them to the Central Committee for examination and approval.

With regards.

Lin Piao
March 23, 1966

(Hsinhua News Agency-English Peking, May 28, 1967)

I

Entrusted by Comrade Lin Piao with the task, Comrade Chiang Ch'ing invited some comrades in the armed forces to a forum held in Shanghai from February 2 to 20, 1966, to discuss certain questions concerning the work in literature and art in the armed forces.

Before these comrades left for Shanghai, Comrade Lin Piao gave them the following instructions: "Comrade Chiang Ch'ing talked with me yesterday. She is very sharp politically on questions of literature and art, and she really knows art. She has many opinions, and they are very valu-

able. You should pay good attention to them and take measures to insure that they are applied ideologically and organizationally. From now on, the army's documents concerning literature and art should be sent to her. Get in touch with her when you have any information for her to keep her well posted on the situation in literature and art work in the armed forces. Ask her for her opinions, which will help improve this work. We should not rest content with either the present ideological level or the present artistic level of such work, both of which need further improvement." Comrade Hsiao Hua and Comrade Yang Cheng-wu expressed enthusiastic approval of and support for this forum and instructed us to act in accordance with Comrade Chiang Ch'ing's opinions. They also expressed their thanks to Comrade Chiang Ch'ing for her concern for the work in literature and art in the armed forces.

At the beginning of the forum and in the course of the exchange of views, Comrade Chiang Ch'ing said time and again that she had not studied Chairman Mao's works well enough and that her comprehension of Chairman Mao's thought was not profound, but that whatever points she had grasped she would act upon resolutely. She said that during the last four years she had largely concentrated on reading a number of literary works and had formed certain ideas, not all of which were necessarily correct. She said that we were all Party members and that for the cause of the Party we should discuss things together on an equal footing. This discussion should have been held last year but had been postponed because she had not been in good health. As her health had recently improved, she had invited the comrades to join in discussions according to Comrade Lin Piao's instructions.

Comrade Chiang Ch'ing suggested that we read and see a number of items first and then study relevant docu-

ments and material before discussing them. She advised us to read (Chairman Mao's) relevant writings, had eight private discussions with a comrade from the army and attended four group discussions, 13 film shows and three theatrical performances together with us. She also exchanged opinions with us while watching the films and the theatrical performances. And she advised us to see twenty-one other films. During this period, Comrade Chiang Ch'ing saw a sample copy of the film "The Great Wall Along the South China Sea," received the directors, cameramen and part of the cast and talked with them three times, which was a great education and inspiration to them. From our contacts with Comrade Chiang Ch'ing we realize that her understanding of Chairman Mao's thought is quite profound and that she has made a prolonged and fairly full investigation and study of current problems in the field of literature and art and has gained rich practical experience through her personal exertions in cultivating "experimental plots of land." Taking up her work while she was still in poor health, she held discussions and saw films and theatrical performances together with us and was always modest, warm and sincere. All this has enlightened and helped us a great deal.

II

In the course of the twenty days, we read two of Chairman Mao's writings and other relevant material, listened to Comrade Chiang Ch'ing's many highly important opinions and saw more than thirty films, including good and bad ones and others with shortcomings and mistakes of varying degrees. We also saw two comparatively successful Peking operas on contemporary revolutionary themes, namely, "Raid on the White Tiger Regiment" and "Taking the Bandits' Stronghold." All this helped to deepen our comprehension of Chairman Mao's thought on literature and art

and raise the level of our understanding of the socialist cultural revolution. Here are a number of ideas which we discussed and agreed upon at the forum.

(1) The last 16 years have witnessed sharp class struggles on the cultural front.

Actually in both stages of our revolution, the new democratic stage and the socialist stage, there has been a struggle between the two classes and the two lines on the cultural front, i.e., the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie for leadership on this front. In the history of our Party, the struggle against both "Left" and Right opportunism has also included struggles between the two lines on the cultural front. Wang Ming's line represented bourgeois thinking which was once rampant within our Party. In the rectification movement which started in 1942, Chairman Mao made a thorough theoretical refutation first of Wang Ming's political, military and organizational lines and then, immediately afterwards, of the cultural line he represented. Chairman Mao's "On New Democracy," "Talks at the Yenan Forum on Literature and Art" and "Letter to the Yenan Peking Opera Theater After Seeing 'Driven to Join the Liangshan Mountain Rebels'" are the most complete, the most comprehensive and the most systematic historical summaries of this struggle between the two lines on the cultural front. They carry on and develop the Marxist-Leninist world outlook and theory on literature and art. After our revolution entered the socialist stage, Chairman Mao's two writings, "On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People" and "Speech at the Chinese Communist Party's National Conference on Propaganda Work," were published. They are the most recent summaries of the historical experience of the movements for a revolutionary ideology and a revolutionary literature and art in China and other countries. They represent a new deve-

lopment of the Marxist-Leninist world outlook and of the Marxist-Leninist theory on literature and art. These five writings by Chairman Mao meet the needs of the proletariat adequately and for a long time to come.

More than twenty years have elapsed since the publication of the first three of these five works by Chairman Mao and nearly ten years since the publication of the last two. However, in the fifteen years since the founding of our People's Republic, the ideas in these works have basically not been carried out by literary and art circles. Instead, we have been under the dictatorship of a black anti-Party and anti-socialist line which is diametrically opposed to Chairman Mao's thought. This black line is a combination of bourgeois ideas on literature and art, modern revisionist ideas on literature and art and what is known as the literature and art of the 1930's (in the Kuomintang areas of China). Typical expressions of this line are such theories as those of "truthful writing," "the broad path of realism," "the deepening of realism," opposition to "subject matter as the decisive factor," "middle characters," opposition to "the smell of gunpowder" and "the spirit of the age as the merging of various trends." Most of these views were refuted long ago by Chairman Mao in his "Talks at the Yenan Forum on Literature and Art." In film circles there are people who advocate "discarding the classics and rebelling against orthodoxy," in other words, discarding the classics of Marxism-Leninism, of Mao Tse-tung's thought, and rebelling against the orthodoxy of people's revolutionary war. As a result of the influence or domination of this bourgeois and modern revisionist counter-current in literature and art, there have been few good or basically good works in the last decade or so (although there have been some) which truly praise worker, peasant and soldier heroes and which serve the workers, peasants and soldiers; many are mediocre,

while some are anti-Party and anti-socialist poisonous weeds. In accordance with the instructions of the Central Committee of the Party, we must resolutely carry on a great socialist revolution on the cultural front and completely eliminate this black line. After we are rid of this black line, still others will appear and the struggle must go on. Therefore, this is an arduous, complex and long-term struggle which will take decades, or even centuries. It is a cardinal issue which has a vital bearing on the future of the Chinese revolution and the future of the world revolution.

A lesson to be drawn from the last decade or so is that we began to tackle the problem a little late. We have taken up only a few specific questions and have not dealt with the whole problem systematically and comprehensively. So long as we do not seize hold of the field of culture, we will inevitably forefeit many positions in this field to the black line and this is a serious lesson. After the 10th plenary session of the Central Committee in 1962 adopted a resolution on the unfolding of class struggle throughout the country, the struggle to foster proletarian ideology and liquidate bourgeois ideology in the cultural field has gradually developed.

(2) The last three years have seen a new situation in the great socialist cultural revolution. The most outstanding example is the rise of Peking operas on contemporary revolutionary themes. Led by the Central Committee of the Party, headed by Chairman Mao and armed with Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought, literary and art workers engaged in revolutionizing Peking opera have launched a heroic and tenacious offensive against the literature and art of the feudal class, the bourgeoisie and the modern revisionists. Under the irresistible impact of this offensive, Peking opera, formerly the most stubborn of strongholds, has been radically revolutionized, both in ideo-

logy and in form, which has started a revolutionary change in literary and art circles. Peking operas with contemporary revolutionary themes like the "Red Lantern," "Shachiapang," "Taking the Bandits' Stronghold" and "Raid on the White Tiger Regiment," the ballet "Red Detachment of Women," the symphony "Shachiapang" and the group of clay sculptures "Rent Collection Courtyard" have been approved by the broad masses of workers, peasants and soldiers and acclaimed by Chinese and foreign audiences. They are pioneer efforts which will exert a profound and far-reaching influence on the socialist cultural revolution. They effectively prove that even that most stubborn of strongholds, Peking opera, can be taken by storm and revolutionized and that foreign classical art forms such as the ballet and symphonic music can also be remolded to serve our purpose. This should give us still greater confidence in revolutionizing other art forms. Some people say that Peking operas with contemporary revolutionary themes have discarded the traditions and basic skills of Peking opera. On the contrary, the fact is that Peking operas with contemporary revolutionary themes have inherited the Peking opera traditions in a critical way and have really weeded out the old to let the new emerge. The fact is not that the basic skills of Peking opera have been discarded but that they are no longer adequate. Those which cannot be used to reflect present-day life should and must be discarded. In order to reflect present-day life, we urgently need to refine, create, and gradually develop and enrich the basic skills of Peking opera through our experience of real life. At the same time, these successes deal a powerful blow at conservatives of various descriptions and such views as the "box-office earnings" theory, the "foreign exchange earnings" theory and the theory that "revolutionary works can't travel abroad."

Another outstanding feature of the socialist cultural

revolution in the last three years is the widespread mass activity of workers, peasants and soldiers on the fronts of ideology, literature and art. Workers, peasants and soldiers are now producing many fine philosophical articles which splendidly express Mao Tse-tung's thought in terms of their own practice. They are also producing many fine works of literature and art in praise of the triumph of our socialist revolution, the big leap forward on all the fronts of socialist construction, our new heroes, and the brilliant leadership of our great Party and our great leader. In particular, both in content and in form the numerous poems by workers, peasants and soldiers appearing on wall-newspapers and blackboards represent an entirely new age.

Of course, these are merely the first fruits of our socialist cultural revolution, the first step in our long ten thousand *li*. In order to safeguard and extend these achievements and to carry the socialist cultural revolution through to the end, we must work hard for a long time.

(3) The struggle between the two roads on the front of literature and art is bound to be reflected in the armed forces, which do not exist in a vacuum and cannot possibly be an exception to the rule. The Chinese People's Liberation Army is the chief instrument of the dictatorship of the proletariat in China. It represents the mainstay and hope of the Chinese people and the revolutionary people of the world. Without a people's army, neither the victory of our revolution nor the dictatorship of the proletariat and socialism would have been possible and the people would have nothing. Therefore, the enemy will inevitably try to undermine it from all sides and will inevitably use literature and art as weapons in his attempt to corrupt it ideologically. However, after Chairman Mao pointed out that basically, literary and art circles had not carried out the policies of the Party over the past 15 years, certain persons still claimed

that the problem of the orientation of literature and art in our armed forces was mainly one of raising the artistic level. This point of view is wrong and is not based on concrete analysis. In point of fact, some works of literature and art by our armed forces have a correct orientation and have reached a comparatively high artistic level; some have a correct orientation but their artistic level is low; others have serious defects or mistakes in both political orientation and artistic form, and still others are anti-Party and anti-socialist poisonous weeds. The August 1 Studio has produced as bad a film as the "Pressgang." This shows that the work in literature and art in the armed forces has also come under the influence of the black line to a greater or lesser degree. Besides, we have as yet trained relatively few creative workers who are really up to the mark; the ideological problems in creative work are still numerous, and the ranks are still not so pure. We must analyze and solve these problems properly.

(4) The Liberation Army must play an important role in the socialist cultural revolution. Comrade Lin Piao has kept a firm hold on the work in literature and art since he has been in charge of the work of the military commission of the Central Committee of the Party. The many instructions he has given are correct. "The resolution on strengthening political and ideological work in the armed forces" adopted at the enlarged session of the military commission clearly specified that the aim of the work in literature and art in the armed forces was "to serve the cause of fostering proletarian ideology and liquidating bourgeois ideology and consolidating and improving fighting capacity in close conjunction with the tasks of the armed forces and in the context of their ideological situation." There is already a nucleus of literary and art workers in the armed forces whom we have trained and who have been tempered in revolution-

ary war. A number of good works have been produced in the armed forces. Therefore, the Liberation Army must play its due role in the socialist cultural revolution and must fight bravely and unswervingly to carry out the policy that literature and art should serve the workers, peasants and soldiers and serve socialism.

(5) In the cultural revolution, there must be both destruction and construction. Leaders must take personal charge and see to it that good models are created. The bourgeoisie has its reactionary "monologue on creating the new." We, too, should create what is new and original, new in the sense that it is socialist and original in the sense that it is proletarian. The basic task of socialist literature and art is to work hard and create heroic models of workers, peasants and soldiers. Only when we have such models and successful experience in creating them will we be able to convince people, to consolidate the positions we hold, and to knock the reactionaries' stick out of their hands.

On this question, we should have a sense of pride and not of inferiority.

We must destroy the blind faith in what is known as the literature and art of the 1930's (in the Kuomintang areas of China). At that time, the Left-wing movement in literature and art followed Wang Ming's "Left" opportunist line politically; organizationally it practiced closed-doorism and sectarianism; and its ideas on literature and art were virtually those of Russian bourgeois literary critics such as Belinsky, Chernyshevsky and Dobrolyubov and of Stanislavsky in the theatrical field, all of whom were bourgeois democrats in Tsarist Russia with bourgeois ideas and not Marxist ones. The bourgeois-democratic revolution is a revolution in which one exploiting class replaces another. It is only the proletarian socialist revolution that finally destroys all exploiting classes. Therefore, we must not take the

ideas of any bourgeois revolutionary as guiding principles for our proletarian movement in ideology or in literature and art. There were of course good things in the 1930's too, namely, the militant Left-wing movement in literature and art led by Lu Hsun. Around the middle of the 1930's, some Left-wing leaders under the influence of Wang Ming's right capitulationist line abandoned the Marxist-Leninist class standpoint and put forward the slogan of "a literature of national defense." This was a bourgeois slogan. It was Lu Hsun who put forward the proletarian slogan of "a mass literature for the national revolutionary war." Some Left-wing writers and artists, notably Lu Hsun, also raised the slogans that literature and art should serve the workers and peasants and that the workers and peasants should create their own literature and art. However, no systematic solution was found for the fundamental problem of the integration of literature and art with the workers, peasants and soldiers. The great majority of those Left-wing writers and artists were bourgeois nationalist-democrats, and a number failed to pass the test of the democratic revolution, while others have not given a good account of themselves under the test of socialism.

We must destroy blind faith in Chinese and foreign classical literature. Stalin was a great Marxist-Leninist. His criticism of the modernist literature and art of the bourgeoisie was very sharp. But he uncritically took over what are known as the classics of Russia and Europe and the consequences were bad. The classical literature and art of China and of Europe (including Russia) and even American films have exercised a considerable influence on our literary and art circles, and some people have regarded them as holy writ and accepted them in their entirety. We should draw a lesson from Stalin's experience. Old and foreign works should be studied too, and refusal to study them would be

wrong; but we must study them critically, making the past serve the present and foreign works serve China.

As for the relatively good Soviet revolutionary works of literature and art which appeared after the October Revolution, they too must be analyzed and not blindly worshipped or, still less, blindly imitated. Blind imitation can never become art. Literature and art can only spring from the life of the people which is their sole source. This is borne out by the whole history of literature and art, past and present, Chinese and foreign.

The rising forces in the world invariably defeat the forces of decay. Our People's Liberation Army was weak and small at the beginning, but it eventually became strong and defeated the US-Chiang Kai-shek reactionaries. Confronted with the excellent revolutionary situation at home and abroad and our glorious tasks, we should be proud to be thoroughgoing revolutionaries. We must have the confidence and courage to do things never previously attempted, because ours is a revolution to eliminate all exploiting classes and systems of exploitation once and for all and to root out all exploiting class ideologies, which poison the minds of the people. Under the leadership of the Central Committee of the Party and Chairman Mao and under the guidance of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought, we must create a new socialist revolutionary literature and art worthy of our great country, our great Party, our great people and our great army. This will be a most brilliant new literature and art opening up a new era in human history.

But it is no easy matter to create good models. Strategically we must take the difficulties in creative work lightly, but tactically we must take them seriously. To create a fine work is an arduous process, and the comrades in charge of creative work must never adopt a bureaucratic or casual

attitude but must work really hard and share the writers' and artists' joys and hardships. It is essential to get first-hand material as far as possible, or when this is impossible at least to get the material at second hand. There should be no fear of failures or mistakes. Allowance should be made for them, and people must be permitted to correct their mistakes. It is necessary to rely on the masses, follow the line of "from the masses, to the masses," and repeatedly undergo the test of practice over a long period, so that a work may become better and better and achieve the unity of revolutionary political content and the best possible artistic form. In the course of practice it is necessary to sum up experience in good time and gradually grasp the laws of various forms of art. Otherwise, no good models can be created.

We should give the fullest attention to the themes of socialist revolution and socialist construction, and it would be entirely wrong to ignore them.

A serious effort should now be made to create works of literature and art about the three great military campaigns of Liaoshi-Shenyang, Huai-Hai and Peiping-Tientsin and other important campaigns while the comrades who led and directed them are still alive. There are many important revolutionary themes, historical and contemporary, on which work urgently needs to be done in a planned systematic way. A success must be made of the film, "The Great Wall Along the South China Sea." The film "The Long March" must be revised successfully. A nucleus of truly proletarian writers and artists should be trained in the process.

(6) People engaged in the work of literature and art, whether they are leaders or writers and artists, must all practice the Party's democratic centralism. We favor "rule by the voice of the many" and oppose "rule by the voice

of the man alone." We must follow the mass line. In the past, some people pressed the leadership to nod and applaud when they produced something. This is a very bad style of work. As for the cadres in charge of creative work in literature and art, they should always bear two points in mind: First, be good at listening to the opinions of the broad masses; second, be good at analyzing these opinions, accept the right ones and reject the wrong ones. Completely flawless works of literature and art are non-existent, and as long as the keynote of a work is good, we should help improve it by pointing out its shortcomings and errors. Bad works should not be hidden away, but should be shown to the masses for their comment. We must not be afraid of the masses but should have firm trust in them, and they can give us much valuable advice. Besides, this will improve their powers of discrimination. It costs several hundred thousand or as much as a million *yuan* to produce a film. To hide a bad film away is wasteful. Why not show it to the public so as to educate writers and artists and the masses and at the same time make up for its cost to the State and thus turn it to good account ideologically and economically? The film "Beleaguered city" has been shown for a long time but it received no criticism. Shouldn't the *Chieh-fang-chun Pao* write an article criticizing it?

(7) We must encourage revolutionary and militant mass criticism of literature and art, and break the monopoly of criticism of literature and art by a few so-called critics (those wrong in orientation and deficient in militancy). We must place the weapon of criticism of literature and art in the hands of the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers and integrate professional critics with critics from among the masses. We must make this criticism more militant and oppose unprincipled vulgar praise. We must reform our style of writing, encourage the writing of short, popular

articles, turn our criticism of literature and art into daggers and hand-grenades and learn to handle them effectively in close combat. Of course, we must at the same time write longer, systematic articles of theoretical depth. We oppose the use of terminology and jargon to frighten people. Only in this way can we disarm the self-styled critics of literature and art. The *Chieh-fang-chun Pao* and the *Chieh-fang-chun Literature* and *Art* should set up special columns, regular or occasional, for comment on literature and art. Warm support should be given to good or basically good works and their shortcomings pointed out in a helpful way. And principled criticism must be made of bad works. In the theoretical field, we must thoroughly and systematically criticize typical fallacies on literature and art and the many other fallacies spread by certain people who attempt to falsify history and to boost themselves in such books as the *History of the Development of the Chinese Film, A Collection of Historical Data on the Chinese Drama Movement in the Last Fifty Years* and *A Preliminary Study of the Repertory of Peking Opera.* We must not mind being accused of "brandishing the stick." When some people charge us with over-simplification and crudeness, we must analyze these charges. Some of our criticisms are basically correct but are not sufficiently convincing because our analysis and evidence are inadequate and should be improved. With some people it is a matter of understanding; they start by accusing us of over-simplification and crudeness but eventually drop the charge. But when the enemy condemns our correct criticisms as over-simplified and crude, we must stand firm. Criticism of literature and art should become one of our day-to-day tasks, an important method both in the struggle in the field of literature and art and in Party leadership in this field of work. Without correct criticism of literature and art it is impossible for creative work to flourish.

(8) In the struggle against foreign revisionism in the field of literature and art, we must not only catch small figures like Chukhrai. We should catch the big ones, catch Sholokhov and dare to tackle him. He is the father of revisionist literature and art. His *"And Quiet Flows the Don," "Virgin Soil Upturned"* and *"The Fate of a Man"* have exercised a big influence on a number of Chinese writers and readers. Shouldn't the army organize people to study his works and write convincing critical articles containing well-documented analysis? This will have a profound influence in China and the rest of the world. The same thing should be done with similar works by Chinese writers.

(9) As for method, we must combine revolutionary realism with revolutionary romanticism in our creative work, and must not adopt bourgeois critical realism or bourgeois romanticism.

The fine qualities of the worker, peasant and soldier heroes who have emerged under the guidance of the correct line of the Party are the concentrated expression of the class character of the proletariat. We must work with enthusiasm and do everything possible to create heroic models of workers, peasants and soldiers. We should create typical characters. Chairman Mao has said that life as reflected in works of literature and art can and ought to be on a higher plane, more intense, more concentrated, more typical, nearer the ideal, and therefore more universal than actual everyday life." We should not confine ourselves to actual persons and events. Nor should we portray a hero only after he is dead. In fact, there are many more living heroes than dead ones. This means that our writers must sum up the material from real life accumulated over a long period of time and create a variety of typical characters.

When we write about revolutionary wars, we must first be clear about their nature — ours is the side of justice

and the enemy's is the side of injustice. Our works must show our arduous struggles and heroic sacrifices, but must also express revolutionary heroism and revolutionary optimism. While depicting the cruelty of war, we must not exaggerate or glorify its horrors. While depicting the arduousness of the revolutionary struggle, we must not exaggerate or glorify the sufferings involved. The cruelty of a revolutionary war and revolutionary heroism, the arduousness of the revolutionary struggle and revolutionary optimism constitute a unity of opposites, but we must be clear about which is the principal aspect of the contradiction; otherwise, if we make the wrong emphasis, a bourgeois pacifist trend will emerge. Moreover, while depicting our people's revolutionary war, whether in the stage in which guerrilla warfare was primary and mobile warfare supplementary, or in the stage in which mobile warfare was primary, we must correctly show the relationship between the regular forces, the guerrillas and the people's militia and between the armed masses and the unarmed masses under the leadership of the Party.

Regarding the selection of subject-matter, only when we plunge into the thick of life and do a good job of investigation and study can we make the selection properly and correctly. Playwrights should unreservedly plunge into the flaming struggle of life for a long period. Directors, actors and actresses, cameramen, painters and composers should also go into the thick of life and make serious investigations and studies. In the past, some works distorted the historical facts, concentrating on the portrayal of erroneous lines instead of the correct line; some described heroic characters who nevertheless invariably violate discipline, or created heroes only to have them die in a contrived tragic ending; other works do not present heroic characters but only "middle" characters who are actually backward people,

or caricatures of workers, peasants or soldiers; in depicting the enemy, they fail to expose his class nature as an exploiter and oppressor of the people, and ever glamorize him; still others are concerned only with love and romance, pandering to Philistine tastes and claiming that love and death are the eternal themes. All such bourgeois and revisionist trash must be resolutely opposed.

(10) Re-educate the cadres in charge of the work of literature and art and reorganize the ranks of writers and artists. For historical reasons, before the whole country was liberated it was rather difficult for us proletarians to train our own workers in literature and art in the areas under enemy rule. Our cultural level was relatively low and our experience limited. Many of our workers in literature and art had received a bourgeois education. In the course of their revolutionary activities in literature and art, some failed to pass the test of enemy persecution and turned traitor, while others failed to resist the corrosive influence of bourgeois ideas and became rotten. In the base areas, we trained a considerable number of revolutionary workers in literature and art. Especially after the publication of the "Talks at the Yenan Forum on Literature and Art," they had the correct orientation, embarked on the path of integration with the workers, peasants and soldiers, and played a positive role in the revolution. The weakness was that, after the country was liberated and we entered the big cities, many comrades failed to resist the corrosion of bourgeois ideology in the ranks of our writers and artists, with the result that some of them have fallen out in the course of advance. Ours is the literature and art of the proletariat, the literature and art of the Party. The principle of proletarian Party spirit is the outstanding feature distinguishing us from other classes. It must be understood that representatives of other classes also have their principle of Party spirit, and that they are

very stubborn too. We must firmly adhere to the principle of proletarian Party spirit and combat the corrosion of bourgeois ideology in the field of ideas in creative work, in the organizational line and in the style of work. As for bourgeois ideology, we must draw a clear line of demarcation and must on no account enter into peaceful coexistence with it. A variety of problems now exist in literary and art circles which, for most people, are problems of ideological understanding and of raising such understanding through education. We must earnestly study Chairman Mao's works, creatively study and apply them, tie up what we learn from them with our own thinking and practice and study them with specific problems in mind. Only in this way can we really understand, grasp and master Chairman Mao's thought. We must plunge into the thick of life for a long period of time, integrate ourselves with the workers, peasants and soldiers to raise our class consciousness, remold our ideology and wholeheartedly serve the people without any regard for personal fame or gain. It is necessary to teach our comrades to study Marxism-Leninism and Chairman Mao's works and to remain revolutionary all their lives, and pay special attention to the maintenance of proletarian integrity in later life, which is not at all easy.

III

By taking part in the forum, we have acquired a relatively clear understanding of all the questions mentioned above, and our opinions on them now correspond with the realities in the work in literature and art among the armed forces. As a result, the level of our political consciousness has been raised, and our determination to carry out the socialist cultural revolution and our sense of responsibility in this respect have likewise been strengthened. We will continue to study Chairman Mao's works conscientiously, make serious investigations and studies and do well in our

cultivation of "experimental plots" and the production of good models, so as to take the lead in the current struggle of the cultural revolution to foster proletarian ideology and liquidate bourgeois ideology.

[Note: This is the end of the "Summary of the Forum on the Work in Literature and Art in the Armed Forces with Which Comrade Lin Piao Entrusted Comrade Chiang Ch'ing" published in *People's Daily*. The original text of this summary, as carried in *Peking New Literary Gazette* No. 2, has additional passages as follows. — Editor]

In order to consolidate the fruits of this forum ideologically, organizationally, and in work, it is proposed that the Army adopt the following measures:

(1) On Comrade Lin Piao's suggestion, the General Political Department has printed and distributed the book *"Mao Tse-tung on Literature and Art"* to all literary and art workers in the armed forces, and set forth a system whereby this book is to be read constantly and a general summing up and examination to be undertaken in May every year. This system must be seriously enforced indefinitely.

(2) In April a conference on creative writing is to be convened. This conference must be made a success, using the method of Comrade Chiang Ch'ing in organizing the present forum. This conference should be regarded a backbone training class for the study of Chairman Mao's thinking on literature and art. A general mobilization will be made of the literary and art workers in the armed forces to plunge into the socialist cultural revolution. On this basis, moreover, the ranks of writers and artists in the whole army will be overhauled ideologically and organizationally.

(3) An office in charge of writing on the three major

campaigns is to be set up and a force of writers to work on the three major campaigns is to be organized. Efforts are to be made to produce good works reflecting the three major campaigns within the next two or three years. The film "The Great Wall Along the South China Sea" is to be properly completed before October 1, 1967. Leading comrades of the Cultural Section of the General Political Department must regard the successful production of this film as their own "experimental plot." Furthermore, through these creative activities, a nucleus of writers and artists and their successors are to be organized and trained.

(4) A serious re-examination of films, operas and works of the armed forces must be undertaken. The fine ones should be re-produced or re-printed in large quantities so that they may be screened or read in the armed forces. Those with a good content but with shortcomings should be re-processed or re-shot. Those which are too bad to be revised should be discarded.

(5) The Film Studio of the General Political Department must be over-hauled. A good leadership group should be formed, the political and ideological work should be strengthened, and the ranks of creative workers should be readjusted.

(6) A serious scrutiny of pedagogic problems of the Art Academy of the Liberation Army must be carried out, and a pedagogic reform introduced. This is a matter of great importance having a bearing on the cultivation of successors to the cause of proletarian literature and art.

(7) Democratic centralism must be practiced in literary and art work. Examination of operas, films and literary and art works must take the mass line, and one and all must give prominence to politics.

(8) A group of literary and art critics must be organized. Their first job will be to write articles in criticism

of Sholokhov. Literary and art criticism is to be intensified by setting up special columns in *Chieh-fang-chun Pao* and *Chieh-fang-chun Wei-i.*

(9) Literary and art workers of the armed forces should participate in the activities of local associations of writers and artists, and their works should be handed over to local newspapers and magazines, publishing houses or film studios for publication or for adaptation into the screen. In this respect, a set of satisfactory management methods should be devised, and management should be strengthened.

(10) The Party Committee of the General Political Department should provide stronger leadership over literary and art work.

This record of the forum is only intended for reference of leading comrades.

CHIANG CH'ING SPEAKS AT PEKING CULTURAL REVOLUTION RALLY OF LITERARY AND ART WORKERS

(Hsinhua News Agency-English Peking, December 3, 1966)

Comrade Chiang Ch'ing, first deputy leader of the cultural revolution group under the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and adviser on cultural work to the Chinese People's Liberation Army, delivered an important address at the rally of literary and art workers held here on November 28.

Comrade Chiang Ch'ing received a thunderous ovation from the entire rally when she went forward to speak. Greeting all comrades and friends in literary and art circles and young Red Guard fighters present, she extended to them proletarian revolutionary salutations.

She described the background which helped her to understand the importance of the great proletarian cultural revolution. Comrade Chiang Ch'ing said: "A few years ago, when my fairly systematic contact with certain sections of literature and art began, the first question that arose in my mind was why were plays about ghosts being staged in socialist China? Then also, I was very surprised how insensitive Peking opera was as a means of reflecting reality.

But then came 'Hai Jui Dismissed from Office,' 'Li Hui-niang' and other plays showing seriously reactionary political tendencies. And under the fine pretext of 'Rediscovering Tradition,' many works were written portraying monarchs and officials, scholars and beautiful women. There was great talk throughout the literary and art world about 'famous plays,' 'foreign plays' and 'ancient plays' and it went out of its way to present them. The atmosphere was choked with emphasis on the ancient as against the contemporary, with worship of the foreign and scorn for the Chinese, with praise for the dead and contempt for the living. I began to feel that if our literature and art could not correspond to the socialist economic base, they would inevitably wreck it."

Comrade Chiang Ch'ing went on: "In the wake of the changing struggle between the new and the old in the political and economic fields over a number of years, new literature and art, countering the old, have also made their appearance. New items have been created even in Peking opera, formerly considered the most difficult to reform. As you all know, Lu Hsun was the great standard-bearer leading the cultural revolution over thirty years ago. More than 20 years ago, Chairman Mao defined the orientation for literature and art as service to the workers, peasants and soldiers and he posed the question of developing the new through critical assimilation of the old.

"To develop the new through critical assimilation of the old means to develop new content which meets the needs of the masses and popular national forms loved by the people. As far as content is concerned, it is in many cases out of the question to weed through the old to let the new emerge. How can we critically assimilate ghosts, gods and religion? I hold it is impossible, because we are atheists and communists. We do not believe in ghosts and gods

at all. Again, for instance, the feudal moral precepts of the landlord class and the moral precepts of the capitalist class, which they considered to be indisputable, were used to oppress and exploit the people. Can we critically assimilate things which were used to oppress and exploit the people? I hold it is impossible, because ours is a country of the dictatorship of the proletariat. We want to build socialism. Our economic base is public ownership. We firmly oppose the system of private ownership whereby people are oppressed and exploited. To sweep away all remnants of the system of exploitation and the old ideas, culture, customs and habits of all the exploiting classes is an important aspect of our great proletarian cultural revolution."

Comrade Chiang Ch'ing continued: "As for the old forms of art, our attitude can neither be nihilist nor one of total acceptance. A nation must have its own forms of art, its own artistic characteristics. It is wrong to be nihilist and not take over, in a critical way, the best there is in the art forms and artistic characteristics of our country. On the other hand, it is also wrong to take everything as positive and not develop new things through critical assimilation of the old. As to the outstanding forms of art of the various nations throughout the world, we must act in accordance with Chairman Mao's instructions about 'making foreign things serve China' and work at developing the new through critical assimilation of the old."

Comrade Chiang Ch'ing said: "Imperialism is moribund capitalism, parasitic and rotten. Modern revisionism is a product of imperialist policies and a variety of capitalism. They cannot produce any works that are good. Capitalism has a history of several centuries; nevertheless, it has only a pitiful number of 'classics'. They have created some works modelled after the 'classics,' but these are stereotyped and no longer appeal to the people, and are therefore

completely on the decline. On the other hand, there are some things that really flood the market, such as rock-and-roll, jazz, strip tease, impressionism, symbolism, abstractionism, fauvism, modernism — there's no end to them — all of which are intended to poison and paralyse the minds of the people. In a word, there is decadence and obscenity to poison and paralyse the minds of the people.

"I'd like to ask: Isn't it necessary to make a revolution and introduce changes if the old literature and art do not correspond to the socialist economic base and the classical artistic forms do not entirely fit the socialist ideological content? (Shouts of Yes! Yes! from the audience) I am sure most comrades and friends will agree it is necessary, while conceding that this involves serious class struggle and is a very painstaking and fairly difficult job. Fear of the difficulties involved was greater than it need have been among people in general because for a long time, the anti-Party, anti-socialist leadership of the old propaganda department of the Party Central Committee and the old ministry of culture thought up many 'reasons' for opposing this revolution and undermining the changes. There was also another handful of people with ulterior motives who attempted to undermine the revolution and oppose change. The reform of Peking opera, the ballet and symphony music was brought about only after breaking through these difficulties and obstacles."

Comrade Chiang Ch'ing pointed out that the nationwide great proletarian cultural revolution China had moved into since last May had affected almost the whole sphere of ideology. She touched on the question of the sending of cultural revolution work teams to various organizations and said this was an error in the great proletarian cultural revolution. And what these work teams had done in the course of their work was still more erroneous! Instead of

directing the spearhead against the handful of people in authority within the Party who were taking the capitalist road and against the reactionary academic "authorities," they turned the spearhead against the revolutionary students. The question of what the spearhead of the struggle be directed against was a cardinal question of right and wrong, one of principles of Marxism-Leninism of Mao Tse-tung's thought. As early as June this year our Chairman Mao made the point that work teams should not be sent out hastily, but a few comrades sent out work teams hastily without asking Chairman Mao's permission.

She added: "But it is necessary to point out that the question at issue is not one of form, of the work team, but one of principles and policy which it follows. In some units no work teams were sent in, and the original persons in charge were relied upon to conduct the work, yet mistakes were made there nevertheless. On the other hand some work teams followed correct principles and policy and did not make mistakes. This helps to illustrate the real question at issue."

Comrade Chiang Ch'ing said: "Chairman Mao received a million revolutionary youngsters on August 18. How well he respected the initiative of the masses, trusted them and cared for them! I felt I had learned far from enough. Then, afterwards, the young Red Guard fighters turned outward to society and vigorously began destroying the old ideas, culture, customs and habits. We, the comrades of the cultural revolution group under the Party Central Committee, rejoiced. But a few days later, new problems cropped up. We immediately gathered the facts and investigated and were therefore able to keep up with the constantly developing revolutionary situation. This is what I have described as striving to follow Mao Tse-tung's thought closely on the one hand, and striving to catch up

with the spirit of daring and courage, the revolutionary rebel spirit, of the young revolutionaries on the other."

Comrade Chiang Ch'ing then concentrated on the great cultural revolution in the No. 1 Peking Opera Company of Peking. She said that this company was the first unit in Peking to undertake the glorious task of reforming Peking opera. Directly addressing the opera company, she said: "Guided by Mao Tse-tung's thought, in a matter of a few years you have indeed achieved good results in the work of creating operas on contemporary revolutionary themes, and you have thus set an example to the whole country in the reform of Peking opera."

She said: "In order to enable plays on contemporary revolutionary themes to be presented at the National Day celebrations, we had many discussions and we supported your performances and opposed the wrong views by which attempts were made to negate your achievements in revolution. We did a certain amount of explanatory work in various circles to enable you to present your 'Shachiapang' (a Peking opera on a contemporary revolutionary theme) and to get on to the stage the Peking operas 'The Red Lantern,' 'Taking the Bandits' Stronghold,' 'Sea Harbor,' and 'Raid on the White Tiger Regiment,' the ballets 'The Red Detachment of Women' and 'The White-Haired Girl,' and the symphony 'Shachiapang.'

"We explained that these creative works were an important triumph of the great proletarian cultural revolution and of Chairman Mao's ideas on literature and art in the service of the workers, peasants and soldiers. And, as facts have proved, the broad masses have recognized our achievements. The revolutionary Marxist-Leninists and the revolutionary people all over the world have placed a high evaluation on them. Chairman Mao and his close comrade-in-arms Comrade Lin Piao, Comrade Chou En-lai, Comrade

Chen Po-ta, Comrade Kang Sheng and many other comrades have affirmed our achievements and given us great support and encouragement."

She said: "I hope that after we have gone through the struggle and tempering in this great proletarian cultural revolution, we will continue ceaselessly to integrate ourselves with the workers, peasants and soldiers. In this way, we will surely be able to gain new achievements in the reform of Peking opera and other branches of literature and art! Our task is difficult. But we must bravely shoulder this glorious, but arduous, revolutionary task."

Comrade Chiang Ch'ing said that in the great proletarian cultural revolution in the No. 1 Peking Opera Company of Peking there was a very sharp and very complicated class struggle, a struggle for power between proletariat and bourgeoisie. "You have as yet not exposed and criticized the counter-revolutionary revisionist line of the former Peking Municipal Party Committee in a really penetrating and extensive way," she declared.

"Here it is necessary in all seriousness to point out," she went on, "that certain leading members of the No. 1 Peking Opera Company of Peking have not yet seriously drawn a clear-cut line between themselves and the former Peking Municipal Party Committee. They have neither exposed the crimes of the former Peking Municipal Party Committee in a penetrating way nor made a serious criticism of their own mistakes. They implemented the counter-revolutionary revisionist line of the former Peking Municipal Party Committee. Resorting to double dealing, and by either soft or tough methods, they resisted Chairman Mao's instructions, and by double-faced tactics carried out all kinds of obstruction and sabotage to undermine the reform of Peking opera. They played many infamous tricks in their attacks both on you and on us.

"The heinous crimes in which the former Peking Municipal Party Committee, the old propaganda department of the Party's Central Committee and the old Ministry of Culture colluded against the Party and the people must be exposed and liquidated in a thorough-going way. Likewise, the bourgeois reactionary line within our Party which opposes the proletarian revolutionary line of the Party's Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao must be exposed and criticized in a thorough-going way. Otherwise, it will be impossible to safeguard the fruits of our successful revolution.

"Some leading members of the No. 1 Peking Opera Company of Peking must make a clean breast of what they have done and reveal what the others have done in a thorough-going way. This is the only way, and there is no other way out. If they really do so after full criticism by the masses, if they 'repent genuinely and make a fresh start,' they will still be able to take part in the revolution. If they really try to correct their errors and begin anew, if they return to the correct road of the Party, it is still possible for them to strive to become good cadres."

She said: "Since the counter-revolutionary revisionist line of the former Peking Municipal Communist Party Committee, the old propaganda department of the Party's Central Committee and the old Ministry of Culture has not yet been thoroughly criticized and repudiated, and since the effects of this counter-revolutionary revisionist line on your company have not yet been wiped out, it is impossible for the great proletarian cultural revolution to be conducted thoroughly in your company. And there is the possibility that the movement in your company may go astray and certain people with ulterior motives may usurp the leadership. This would have very harmful effects on the future development of your company."

She added: "It is not the case in your company that

all the cadres, Party members and Youth League members have made mistakes, or that all the cadres have made the same kind of mistakes. They have to be treated differently, by presenting the facts and reasoning things out, with the attitude learning from past mistakes and avoiding future ones and curing the sickness to save the patient.' They should be allowed to correct their mistakes and devote themselves to the revolution."

She emphasized that in the great proletarian cultural revolution, the struggle had to be conducted by reasoning and not by coercion or force. There must be no beating of people. "Struggle by coercion or by force can only touch the skin and flesh while struggle by reasoning can touch the soul."

She said: "I suggest that you hold fast to the general orientation in the struggle, to the correct principles and policy formulated by the Central Committee of the Party and Chairman Mao, oppose the handful of people in authority who are taking the capitalist road, gradually expand and strengthen the ranks of the left in the course of the struggle, and unite with the overwhelming majority, including those who have been misled, and help them on to the correct road."

Referring to the question of "minority" and "majority," she said one could not talk about a "minority" or "majority" independently of class viewpoint. "It is necessary to see who has grasped the truth of Marxism-Leninism, of Mao Tse-tung's thought, who is really maintaining a proletarian revolutionary stand, who is genuinely carrying out the correct line of Chairman Mao. Separate and concrete analysis should be made with regard to each separate unit.

In conclusion Comrade Chiang Ch'ing said: "I hope that all comrades in the company will raise still higher the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought, put proletarian

politics in the forefront, resolutely carry out the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao and thoroughly criticize and repudiate the bourgeois reactionary line, unite on the principled basis of Marxism-Leninism, of Mao Tse-tung's thought, and complete the three tasks — first, of struggling against the crushing those in authority who are taking the capitalist road; second, of criticizing and repudiating the reactionary bourgeois academic 'authorities' and bourgeois and all other exploiting class ideology; and third, of transforming education, literature and art and all other parts of the superstructure that do not correspond to the socialist economic base — and that you will make the No. 1 Peking Opera Company of Peking an exemplary revolutionary company which is truly proletarianized and militant!"

Comrade Chiang Ch'ing's speech was received with enthusiastic applause and with repeated ovations from all comrades present.

MINUTES OF TALKS OF THE LEADING COMRADES OF THE CULTURAL REVOLUTION GROUP OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF CCP AT INTERVIEW GRANTED THE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE ALL-CHINA RED-WORKER REBELS GENERAL CORPS

Time: 7:58 p.m. to 12:30 a.m., December 26, 1966.
Place: People's Assembly Hall, Peking.
Conferees: Leaders Chen Po-ta, K'ang Sheng, Chiang Ch'ing, Chang Ch'un-ch'iao, Ch'i Pen-yu, Yao Wen-yuan and the All-China Red-Worker Rebels Corps (ACRWRC).
Pressmen: Hu Ch'ih, deputy editor-in-chief, *Chieh-fang-chun Pao,* Shao I-hai, editor, *Chieh-fang-chun Pao,* and
T'ang P'ing-chu, acting editor-in-chief, *People's Daily.*

Comrade Chiang Ch'ing first asked the name of each comrade and about the working conditions. She said, "Chairman is backing you up!"

Representatives of temporary workers hailed in chorus, "Our thanks to Chairman Mao!" "Long live, long live, and long long life to Chairman Mao!" They shouted, "We wish Chairman Mao an endless long life!"

Representatives: We want to thank you principal leaders of the Cultural Revolution Group of the CCP Central Committee for their solicitude.

Comrade Chiang Ch'ing: We have come here today to hear your opinions. Don't call us "principal leaders" as we are all revolutionary comrades. Just address us by our names. Let's begin to talk.

Representatives: The present contract labor system divides the working masses into two brackets, creates differences, causes dissension among the ranks of proletarian revolutionaries. Not only does it harass the revolutionary activism of the working masses, but it obstructs the development of productive forces of society, besides that it spreads the seed of revisionism and becomes a hotbed for the restoration of capitalism. The handful of capitalist roaders in authority within the Party, by means of this revisionist system, have deprived completely millions upon millions of workers of their political rights. The system was instituted after Liu Shao-ch'i's report on his inspections made in the various parts of the province of Hopei in March 1964. On the basis of this report the Ministry of Labor drew up the contract labor and temporary labor system for enforcement throughout the nation.

(Comrade Chiang Ch'ing at this moment interrupted, "Liu Shao-ch'i is now the chairman. But it depends upon what sort of chairman he is. His wife's father was one of those taking the administration over from the Kuomintang regime and his wife is a big capitalist. She has master-minded all this system.")

After that Comrade Chiang Ch'ing told people immediately to ring up the head of the Ministry of Labor and the secretary of the secretariat of the All-China Federation of Trade Unions to come to participate in the meeting.

Said Comrade Chiang Ch'ing, "What minister of labor?

Should rather be section chief of labor. Best turn them into contract labor. It's only necessary to rebel against them. This system is no different from what the capitalists use to treat their workers!"

When the representatives mentioned that when contract labor is recruited or when a worker is changed into such labor, much depends upon personal relationship, Comrade Chiang Ch'ing said, "This is petticoat relationship." She went on, "The whole thing is capitalist — to keep a number of hired workers, so as to cut down expenses on the part of capital."

Representatives: P'eng Chen has organized in Peking a large army of contract labor and had them concentrated...

Comrade Chiang Ch'ing: You comrades can all purge him. This is one of his big crimes. Even the feudal system could not be more ruthless than this system (feeling rather indignant). When they arrive (the Minister of Labor and the secretary of All-China Federation of Trade Unions), let them step aside. There absolutely shall be no preference for contract labor. It drives me mad: Let them all be contract labor! You liberate them!

Representatives: Some units are engaging themselves in sabotage and plots. For instance, the China Academy of Sciences passed a decision on the 25th to change its contract labor to regular workers, thereby to disintegrate the fighting will of workers.

Chiang Ch'ing: Do not ask them to change you to regular workers, nor do you want to be contract workers. What you want is revolution. (At this moment the two ministers of labor and Wang Chih-chieh, secretary of the All-China Federation of Trade Unions, entered the room. Comrade Ch'i Pen-yu ordered them to stand behind the seats.)

Comrade Chiang Ch'ing turned to Wang Chih-chieh,

Hsi Chan-yuan and Li Ch'eng-t'ing, asking: "What are your jobs?"

Wang answered, "I belong to the All-China Federation of Trade Unions."

"We are connected with the Ministry of Labor," answered Hsi and Li.

"Do you know them (representatives of workers)?" asked Chen Po-ta and Chiang Ch'ing.

"We know some of them," answered Wang, Hsi and Li.

Chiang Ch'ing: I have heard what the comrades think of the contract labor system. Is it your invention, or your chairman Liu Shao-ch'i's? This is an old system of the capitalist reactionaries. You do not serve the workers. It is better for you to go home.

Chen Po-ta: Why do you treat as invalid and turn down what documents (referring to the papers signed after negotiations conducted on December 7 and 20) agreed upon and signed by these representative and you?

Wang, Hsi and Li, feeling extremely embarrassed, could not answer.

Representatives: We sealed the whole place where the offices of the Ministry of Labor are located yesterday (the 25th). We have today sealed all the units under the Ministry of Labor in Peking, and notified all our branch corps throughout the country by telegram, instructing them to put all labor distribution offices under lock and key. We have decided to seal the All-China Federation of Trade Unions tomorrow.

Chen Po-ta: It is good these offices are sealed. Workers can work just as usual without them!

Chiang Ch'ing asked the minister of labor, "What is the concrete content of your work? How large is your staff?"

Hsi and Li answered, "More than four hundred people.

Our work is distribution of labor power, protection of labor, and practice of wage system."

Comrade Chiang Ch'ing again asked, "How many contract workers are there in the whole nation?"

Li answered, "I don't know the exact number."

"What are you doing all day long? You are not clear about the number. What are you there for a minister of labor?" continued Chiang Ch'ing. Turning to Wang Chieh, she asked, "What work are you people in the Federation of Labor responsible for?" "Our responsibility is educate and organize the workers," Wang answered.

"You don't work for them; you don't serve them. You don't reflect conditions to the Central Committee, nor do you solve problems. Have you any quality of a communist at all?" retorted Chiang Ch'ing.

Hsi Chan-yuan admitted, "We are criminals implementing this reactionary system. We plead guilty!"

The representatives proceeded to accuse this reactionary system of the political persecution and economic pressure to which the working masses have been subjected, and of the fact that under this system proletarian dictatorship would be turned into bourgeois dictatorship. When the representatives exposed the ruthless repression the workers suffered under the temporary labor system, tears ran down their cheeks and they really sobbed. Tears rolling in her eyes, Comrade Chiang Ch'ing said, "It isn't a sign of weakness that I cry. It's just because I have seen true comrades of our own. I want to thank you. I have received a living lesson."

Comrades Chiang Ch'ing and Chen Po-ta as well as other comrades, upon hearing what the workers' complaints, all felt bitter and indignant, tears gushing from their eyes. Even the receptionists in the Assembly Hall cried bitterly.

Comrade Chiang Ch'ing said with indignation, "Contract workers are also proletarians and revolutionaries. How did you big-shot ministers treat the workers? If things should go on like this, what future is there for our workers? What is contract labor? It is nothing but a contract to sell your body!"

She continued, "Comrades, the conditions reflected this time are highly educational to us. I suggest you issue each person a commemoration badge immediately, together with a *'Quotations from Chairman Mao'*. You just wipe out all the offices of labor distribution in the country. You workers coming from other places can all put up in the Federation of Trade Unions and the Ministry of Labor, and ask them to be responsible for your boarding and lodging."

(She turned to Wang, Li and Hsi and said, "Did you hear me?" "Yes, we did," answered Wang, Hsi and Li. Chiang Ch'ing again asked, "Can you do it?" They answered, "Yes, yes, yes.")

K'ang Sheng: Anyone who should have promulgated the contract labor system is a Khrushchev, not a Communist Party member. He wants to turn China into a capitalist country. This is a big question of seizure of power. Those who do not serve workers should be all disbanded.

Chiang Ch'ing: Comrades, I didn't know that things have been so serious. I am sorry.

Chen Po-ta: May I suggest that you need not seal the Federation of Trade Unions tomorrow? You all go there and sleep there. If you seal the place, they would have nothing to do.

When the representatives discussed the system and concluded that it has exerted disastrous effects in a wide manner, Comrade K'ang Sheng said, "That Liu Shao-ch'i made reports everywhere in 1964 is a rather serious matter. The system today is a big question concerning whether our nation would change color or not, a question whether

socialist factories will be turned into capitalist factories, and a question whether the nation will travel the road of socialism or the road of capitalism. Soviet Russia is an instance.

Chiang Ch'ing: I suggest that an accusation and criticism-repudiation meeting of contract workers and temporary workers be held in the near future in the People's Assembly Hall. The hall belongs to the working class. We are masters of the nation today. I hope you will go back and tell everybody about this impending meeting. Get yourselves organized and your materials prepared which should be brief, concise and to the point, listing typical cases and lasting not more than half an hour.

Representatives: The responsible personnel of some units do not trust and doubt the speech made by Comrade Chiang Ch'ing to the Mao Tse-tung Thought Combat Corps of the Broadcasting Bureau on December 18.

Chiang Ch'ing: All of them are the lords. I am but an ordinary Communist Party member. I suggest that a circular be issued in the name of the Cultural Revolution Group of the Central Committee (the general gist of which is as follows):

1. All contract labor and temporary labor must be permitted to take part in the great cultural revolution, and must not be discriminated against.

2. None of them can be dismissed during the great cultural revolution movement and wages must be paid as usual. Workers dismissed after June 1, 1966 must be allowed to return to their original units to take part in production, with wages paid retroactive.

3. All counter-revolutionaries at present should be handled in accordance with the sixteen rules.

Chiang Ch'ing, Chen Po-ta and K'ang Sheng told Wang Chih-chieh and the two ministers Hsi and Li that: "You must not incite the masses to fight the masses. If contract

workers and temporary workers were found to fight the masses, you will be held responsible and dealt with in accordance with Party discipline and State law. You have no class feeling. You do not bear Chairman Mao in your minds, nor do you have the standing committee and the masses in your hearts. You deceive the upper and suppress the lower. You keep news or information from the Central Committee. You do not care for the workers. You have committed heinous crimes and you are the most vicious people. I am just an ordinary Communist Party member but I am a soldier. We have the People's Liberation Army. You capitalist roaders in authority within the Party have been nice to the landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries and depraved elements. The contract workers and apprentices in your eyes are like the stepmother's children (Chen Po-ta interrupted: That means exploitation!)."

Concluding, Comrade Chiang Ch'ing said to Wang, Hsi and Li, "They are the guests of Chairman Mao. You must take good care of them." "Yes, we will," answered they.

When the meeting was closed amidst the thunderous applauses and standing ovations, "Long Live Chairman Mao! Long, long life to Chairman Mao!" The comrades of the ACRWRC reluctantly said good-bye to the Central authorities.

Edited by the All-China Red Worker Rebels Corps
(This article has not been examined and read by the leaders, and the recorder and editor will be responsible for any errors therein.)

December 27, 1966

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January 4, 1967

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Corps Hqrs. of *Kuang-chou Jih-pao* and the Mao Tse-tung Thought Workers Red Guard Corps Hqrs. of *Kuang-chou Jih-pao*.

SPEECH DELIVERED BY CHIANG CH'ING AT A RECEPTION GIVEN TO THE REPRESENTATIVES OF RED GUARDS AT PEOPLE'S ASSEMBLY HALL
(January 10, 1967)

(Red Guards, Peking, January 18, 1967)

[NOTE: Present at the reception with Chiang Ch'ing were Chou En-lai, Chen Po-ta and K'ang Sheng, each of them delivering a speech. Only Chiang Ch'ing's speech is published below. The title is added by the editor]

Participating in this meeting are fellow students and comrades from all different units. Some have written to us, stating that they have committed errors and do not know what to do. Well, this question is easy to handle. If you admit your mistakes and see the orientation, I believe people will welcome you to join the ranks. Don't you think so? (The audience: "Yes") The number of worker comrades present here today is relatively small. Recently we have not been in touch with many of them and I am unable to give you a list of names.

Today we would like to tell you what we think. That is, while we all should follow the general orientation, we

must march along the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao and oppose the bourgeois reactionary line formulated by Liu Shao-ch'i and Teng Hsiao-p'ing. This is a point of primary importance. Under this premise, we must use concentric, not scattered, fire to wage the struggle. Otherwise, confusion would occur among our ranks.

At present, there are two big problems before the nation. One is that the handful of capitalist roaders in authority have mounted an attack on us by way of economism. This question is widely existing and we only hope that all revolutionary comrades will raise their vigilance. By this method our enemy seeks to disintegrate our ranks, has bought out some people who do not see the situation clearly, and has caused a very great loss to the nation and the people.

Lu Cheng-ts'ao has jumped out by himself. He is one of three sworn brothers (referring to P'eng Chen, Lin Feng, Lu Cheng-ts'ao). He was shielded a little in the P'eng Chen case but he has not shut himself in a room repenting. Instead, he has come out again to hoodwink the revolutionary workers and staff members to stage a strike, causing disruption of railway services. He has employed all kinds of method, both economic and political. For instance, he said, "We will support you; you have been wronged" etc. It is possible that certain individuals might have been done wrong, but he should have used persuasion and explanation instead of instigation. As a result, in a number of important communication junctions the railway services have been interrupted. By means of economism he has made both national economy and people's livelihood suffer a setback. In this way he opposed Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and the great proletarian cultural revolution. This kind of situation exists in Peking Universally but the amount of

loss suffered is not so large as that in Shanghai where over ten million dollars have been paid out. We have adopted emergency measures and frozen our state funds (with payments made in exceptional cases). Otherwise, many of our factories would have gone bankrupt. I hope all comrades will be on your guard against this and make revolution in a frugal way. Of course, if there is the need, some money can be spent but not too much.

I hope you will return those vehicles. Propaganda trucks can be used only in places where people gather, but in many places people have to sleep or take rest. The use of propaganda trucks is an invention of the 88th Regiment of the Northeast. The streets are now filled with such trucks. They broadcast but have already passed by when people only hear half a sentence. They obstruct communications. Nor can they be used in the factory area. The workers have to work eight solid hours a day and their labor is intense. I hope you comrades will take notice of this.

The main thing is to expose and shatter economism, for it undermines the nation's economic life, undermines our cultural revolution and resists the leadership over the great cultural revolution. That is all I want to say on this question.

Another question I want to remind you of is that at present there exists a trend where every effort is being made to turn the spearhead of struggle against some of the good comrades in the army and in the State Council. Those comrades are not lily white but have some flaws and in some cases very serious flaws. Some words they have uttered should be reexamined and criticized, just as you would do to me. But, it should be done in a comradely way and you must not be duped. Some people want to stir up troubled water, taking advantage of the fact that you see only the part, not the whole. I know that you all mean

well. For instance, Comrade Ch'en Yi once spoke some wrong words, wrote a poem, and exaggerated in his talks sometimes. I could even argue with him face to face, but he is not a fence rider. He speaks out what he has in his mind. That is good. Of course, he has committed errors after all. He and I sometimes argue seriously until our faces turn red. But he would finally say, "Silly, Silly, it's all ugly!"

But Tao Chu is different. He repressed me and repressed our group. We want it to be comradely. So much remains to be done yet. You cannot go to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. They have so much to do. I didn't know Comrade Ch'en Yi too well until recent years. I found him rather frank and straightforward. His speech at the Canton conference was not well done. He talked a little too much. He made a reexamination in the summer of 1962, as he does now. He has done much meritorious service. Take the New Fourth Route Army for instance. Hsiang Ying obstinately followed the Wang Ming line, with the result that more than ten thousand men were put in other people's pocket [meaning they fell into enemy hands]. It was a great humiliation to the Party. Comrade Ch'en Yi carried out Chairman Mao's line and started all over again, gradually developing the army into one of 200 to 300 thousand men. With these men he fought the battle of Huai-hai side by side with Liu Po-ch'eng. He was famous for that. He also fought a brilliant battle in Shanghai with T'an Chen-lin as the commander. He said many wrong words but he never resorted to the use of tricks. What is wrong is wrong. Is he better compared with Wang Kuan-lan? He is. Is he better compared with Wang Chen? He is. Wang Chen is no good. Wang Chen is a member of the Party Central Committee and T'an Chen-lin vouched for him. He should have stayed home repenting but he didn't. He

engaged himself in subversive activities. He rallied around himself a big landlord, Chang Tsung-han, also a playboy, and became extremely active. T'an Chen-lin is very honest and straightforward and has praised you revolutionary Red Guards.

Comrade Li Fu-ch'un is also that type of comrade, only that he is not careful but crude. His method of thinking is not sound and sometimes even faulty. He follows the main stream. When he finds that he follows the incorrect line, he changes to the correct line. He has been hospitalized with pneumonia some time ago. The little fighters wanted to purge him but Kuan Feng came to his rescue. This kind of comrade deserves our help. We can use the comradely way to make them admit their errors. To drag them out regardless of what type of person they are would be a mistake. They participate in cultural revolution while they work.

For another instance, Comrades Li Hsien-nien and Hsieh Fu-ch'ih are both good comrades. Hsieh Fu-ch'ih originally was under Teng Hsiao-p'ing but he was the first person to expose Teng Hsiao-p'ing. He is not high-handed. The United Action Committee (referring to the united action committee set up by part of Peking's middle school students) has often rebelled against him and charged into the Ministry of Public Security. This is wrong. The head should be arrested. They have only a limited number of backbone members and can be disintegrated. The small leaders should be arrested and put under dictatorship. It would be incorrect if we turned our spearhead of struggle against those who have been long tested and who have also committed errors but who stand on Chairman Mao's side at critical time. No, we can't do that. We exercised patience even toward T'ao Chu and tried to help him but he would not correct himself. For instance, about the picture he

was really mean in his own way. (At one meeting he openly directed the reporters to take a picture of Teng Hsiao-p'ing but the reporter refused and took a picture of Ch'en Yi instead. He told the reporter to carve the picture of Ch'en Yi's head and inserted in it the picture of Teng Hsiao-ping's head, which was published later on.) Things like this the above-named good comrades wouldn't do. Only T'ao Chu would. And then Hsiung Fu. Things like that are too numerous to mention. Even when the Red Guards were received for the third time by Chairman Mao, T'ao Chu still would not abide by the spirit of the 11th plenum of the 8th Central Committee. It is by no means exaggeration when Comrade Po-ta told the Red Guard representatives last time that T'ao Chu was continuing to follow the bourgeois reactionary line. Now that Comrades Ch'en Yi, Li Hsien-nien, T'an Chen-lin and Li Fu-ch'un, who are still working, are willing to make reexaminations and willing to follow Chairman Mao's line, we should welcome them. A few moments ago, one of you comrades felt rather indignant. I think he should not feel so any longer. He (Ch'en Yi) did not know anything about that picture and felt mad about it when I told him the whole matter. You must not be hoodwinked by people.

Another trend is that [the spearhead of struggle] is directed at the army, with Liu Chih-chien [as the target] There is no way to handle him. Some marshals said the wrong thing but they are willing to follow Chairman Mao's line. That Lu Cheng-ts'ao, one of "the three sworn brothers," would jump out is determined by his class stand. You should explain this question clearly before the broad masses of railway workers and staff members, while fellow students can carry out propaganda about it. We will help you to expose people like Liu Chih-chien. He is deputy chief of the Cultural Revolution Group but he never submitted any report, nor did he ever consult the Group. Is Comrade Hsiao Hua better than Liu Chih-chien? Comrade Hsiao Hua is better. He has made mistakes but he has recently participated in the work. Comrades Ch'en Yi and Yeh Chien-ying talked without understanding the situation. The Military Academy directed its spearhead at them. Liu Chih-chien hid himself somewhere. Not long ago when Yeh Chien-ying made a reexamination, Liu Chih-chien incited people to oppose him, causing misunderstanding among the marshals — as if we asked you to struggle against them. It was not until after these strange things had happened that we came to realize the whole situation. When Vice Chairman Lin Piao requested me to call a forum on the literary and art work in the armed forces, Liu Chih-chien earned his political capital, but he eventually revealed his fox tail.

At the moment, the spearhead of struggle should be directed at a small handful of people, not at those who have committed errors but are willing to stand on the side of Chairman Mao. We cannot treat them the way we do Liu Shao-ch'i, Teng Hsiao-p'ing and Liu Chih-chien. Otherwise, there would be only a few left in our State. I don't know whether I have made this question clear to you and whether we can help you untie this knot.

COMRADES CHIANG CH'ING AND CH'I PEN-YU'S TALKS WITH THE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE REVOLUTIONARY MASSES OF THE CENTRAL DOCUMENTARY FILMS STUDIO AND THE AUGUST 1 MOVIE STUDIO

Time: February 1, 1967

Chiang Ch'ing: "I have long not heard any opinions of you comrades and I want very much to hear some."

The representatives of the Central Documentary Films Studio (CDFS) made a report on the general situation of the great cultural revolution movement and stated that in the film on Chairman Mao's reception to the Red Guards, Liu Shao-ch'i and Teng Hsiao-p'ing were beautified.

Chiang Ch'ing: "The first time we saw the film on the National Day celebration, it was an extremely bad one. So it was sent back. But when it was shown to us the second time, it was even worse and again was sent back. Such terrible stuff!" (Comrade Chiang Ch'ing was mad at it.)

"Have you purged Chao Hsin-ch'iu? (Answer: We have purged him only once.) How impossible he is! None of the three films on Chairman Mao's receptions to the Red Guards conforms with the spirit of the Eleventh Plenum. They all beautify Liu Shao-ch'i, Teng Hsiao-p'ing and T'ao

Chu. Chairman Mao never liked to appear in movie films. He was like that as far back as the Yenan days when I came to know him. Nevertheless, all the revolutionary photographers wanted to get some films shot on materials about the leader. Chairman Mao never let their cameras take any picture of him while he is working at his desk. But, those representatives of the bourgeoisie even fight each other to have such a picture shot. Say, how extremely eccentric Liu Shao-ch'i is! He always stands near Chairman Mao talking to him. He has committed errors and yet he does not realize that he should move back and stand behind."

Ch'i Pen-yu: "It's all arranged by T'ao Chu."

Chiang Ch'ing: "Can you cut out the part, where Liu Shao-ch'i, Teng Hsiao-p'ing and T'ao Chu appeared before the camera, from the films showing Chairman Mao receiving the Red Guards on three occasions. About this I have fought bitterly with Chao Hsin-ch'iu and told him that your Ministry of Culture completely follows the Liu-Teng-T'ao line. You must question him how come he has beautified Liu Shao-ch'i, Teng Hsiao-p'ing and T'ao Chu. You should purge him severely and also purge all those who should be purged until they fall down."

Some suggest that the film on Liu Shao-ch'i and Wang Kuang-mei's visit to Indonesia be projected at the same time as that showing Chairman Mao receiving the Red Guards.

Ch'i Pen-yu: "Some suggest that the film on Khrushchev's visit to the U.S. be shown together with that on Liu Shao-chi's visit to Indonesia."

Chiang Ch'ing: "They can be treated as educational material. The film on Liu Shao-ch'i's visit to Indonesia publicizes the court life of capitalism."

Question: "Can we add some notations to it and have

it edited over again?"

Chiang Ch'ing: "Haven't you said you have already burned what's left after editing?"

Answer: "Not all the material. There might be some still left."

Ch'i Pen-yu: "You see. Even today the Ministry of Culture is still cheating us."

Comrade Chiang Ch'ing then heard the divergent opinions of the two factions in the CDFS.

Chiang Ch'ing: "I cannot possibly solve the concrete problems for you. If there isn't any basic difference in principle, you have no reason to talk in such an absolute manner. You should get united so long as you agree in general orientation."

"A documentary film is different from a story film. The former must be true with no fabrication whatsoever. Anyway, there must be output and important political events have to be reported. Your movie studio of course is unlike the broadcasting station which has to broadcast every day. But you must also turn out products. You can't suspend production. If you can't produce films about Chairman Mao's receptions to the Red Guards, the little fighters might come to wreck your studio. As a documentary film studio and as a studio with political tasks to accomplish, why can't you hand out films about the several receptions given by the Chairman? You have to devise some way when you go back. Now is the time we must seize power, make revolution, and promote production. There are too many black and white films. Give the assistants some for training purposes. Those who have committed serious errors may be put under supervision if there exists no contradiction between the enemy and ourselves. But they must not be allowed to uglify the laboring people. If they do not work well, they should receive no pay."

Ch'i Pen-yu: "This is an effective way to deal with these people."

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Chiang Ch'ing: "The audience should not see revisionist films. They are absolutely vulgar and low-class. One could not sleep for several days after one sees them. If a motion picture does not portray the images of workers, peasants and soldiers and does not serve them, what it is for? Don't waste the film. It's a waste of people's money. It releases poison. Once a film is shot about the workers, peasants and soldiers, it distorts their images. I saw some and they drove me mad. The films "Know Three Years Ahead of Time" and "The Nice Flowers and the Bright Moonlight" are absolutely rotten. The film "Visit the Parents" is also very bad. Could you ever believe that all the rural people have died and there leaves only such a lonesome old man? Chou Li-po's "Tempest" has been praised to the sky. His central theme is always that good people must die — so bad an idea. Your documentary films are better, aren't they?"

Representatives: "A number of 'poisonous weed' films have been shot. A film entitled "Wipe out the Five Habits" makes a malicious attack on the big leap forward and Chairman Mao. Among other films shot are "Tu Fu the Poet," "Mei Lan-fang," "Usher in the Spring," "Amidst the Torrent," etc.

Chiang Ch'ing: "Your documentary films should reflect true life. What do you shoot those films for? I would like to see these poisonous weeds."

Representatives: "Tu Fu the Poet" and "Mei Lan-fang" were produced under the advice of Ah-Ying."

Chiang Ch'ing: "Ah-Ying (Ch'ien Hsing-ts'un) is a traitor. Ch'ien Hsiao-chang and Hsu Hsiao-ping are persons in authority pursuing the capitalist road at CDFS.

How can they be red banners? (The CDFS was the "red flag" unit under the former Ministry of Culture.) How could we let them feel at ease?"

Representatives: "Ch'ien Hsiao-chang has three secretaries."

Chiang Ch'ing: "I dare not say I have one."

Representative of August 1 Studio: "That guy Chang Shao-t'ing is a bad egg. He personally names us four young people as the general staff of the bureau."

Chiang Ch'ing: "Don't become an official. The title 'chief' is to be smashed to pieces. There will be no need for 'chiefs' in the future. We will have the people's commune."

Representative of the CDFS: "The pernicious effect of the fallacy "the redder the darker" left behind by the work team is very wide. Many old comrades dare not speak, nor are they allowed to work."

Chiang Ch'ing: "The number of people affected is too large. I think they cannot be allowed to work. Having faith in the majority is good. Can we not keep a single person left over from the Peking Movie Studio? I think X X should have several good films. One can go through ideological transformation. X X X who had been transferred to August 1 Movie Studio rather strongly stresses his own style. He sticks to the 'little bridge, bubbling stream, small cottage' and other such descriptive stuff, and never can produce anything magnificent and splendid. The film "Early February" truly represents his own style."

Ch'i Pen-yu: "Hsia Yen, Chen Huang-mei and others praise him highly and assign him important jobs. Truly he has been trained by us."

Chiang Ch'ing: "I have seen all the films shot by him. I have talked it over with him but he cannot change it although he has said that he is willing to do so."

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At this moment, the representatives of August 1 Movie Studio reported on the situation of the movement in the Studio and on the question of cameras and appliances and supplies which have been robbed from the studio.

Chiang Ch'ing: "This is looting the state property and is a question of principle, which is not a small question. This is sabotage of production and war equipment. You should immediately take these properties back. If they are definitely not sent back, punishment shall be meted out. You have a perfect right to do so. The robbery of the studio may have been instigated by bad people. Watch out! (Comrade Chiang Ch'ing was angry at the behavior of those who pasted a label "Protect the royal with iron barrel" on the door of the People's Liberation Army fighters who made suggestions, and furious at those who engaged these fighters in a mobile warfare.) This simply is insulting the PLA."

Ch'i Pen-yu: "This is just making trouble."

Chiang Ch'ing: "Do the eight rules do any good?"

Answered by all: "Things are much better. But there still are appliances which have not yet been returned."

Chiang Ch'ing: "Ask them to send back. If not, arrest them. This is state property. One camera set costs a lot of money. As for automobiles, whoever drives it out should drive it back. If there is any slight damage, their principal man in charge should be held responsible for it. Otherwise, their home will be raided. An order has been issued by the Military Committee."

Representatives: "They have also seized our seals."

Ch'i Pen-yu: "What for? That is feudal seizure of power."

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Chiang Ch'ing: "What is Chen Po doing now?"

Representatives: "He is in T'ienshui, getting fat."

Chiang Ch'ing: "We can't let those people have a good time. Chen Po is a very bad man. They had a film shot describing the army engaged in reclamation. The scenario for the armymen singing a song of eulogy for Chairman Mao is a field of opium poppies. When I raised the question, they said this kind of flower is seen everywhere in Sinkiang. They wouldn't change it. The masses also were skeptical about it. The film "Lei Feng" is very bad. There is a photo of Chairman Mao in it and it doesn't look dignified. "Lei Feng" is a biographic film. They apply Lei Feng's deeds to a middle character, Wang Ta-li. A person like Chen Po should be dragged back and subjected to struggle. He should be purged until he falls down and is thoroughly humiliated, not just being "sprayed over." Chairman Mao has taught us that we must make investigations, get hold of huge amounts of facts, present facts and reason, so that we won't be defeated."

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The comrades from the CDFS reported that at a previous stage when the bourgeois reactionary line was criticized and repudiated, Wang Shou-hsiang who loyally implemented the bourgeois reactionary line, apologized to the middle-level cadres and restored their work but did not restore their reputation. Hearing this Comrade Chiang Ch'ing felt indignant, saying, "There is such a thing in your studio?"

Ch'i Pen-yu: "The questionable middle-level cadres should be exposed by the masses."

Representatives: "Wang Shou-hsiang has also suggested that the black gang can be granted five big democracies and said that this is stipulated by the Central Committee."

Ch'i Pen-yu: "The Central Committee has never made such a stipulation. It is probably a stipulation made by

their Central Committee."

Chiang Ch'ing: "We have never done anything like that at all. They should be put to labor — to labor in daytime and write down what they've got to explain."

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Chiang Ch'ing: "You have left out a lot of people.

Ch'i Pen-yu: "They must be subjected to struggle." So they are there to sleep soundly. Hsia Yen and Chen Huang-mei sleep soundly everyday; while we are kept busy from morning to evening, they are very relaxed."

Ch'i Pen-yu: "You can drag Chen Huang-mei and others out and purge them."

Representatives: "We have dragged Hsiung Fu out and purged him once."

Ch'i Pen-yu: "Hsiung Fu is a very bad egg."

Chiang Ch'iang: "Whether Hsiung Fu is a Party member or not is highly problematical. Why don't you purge Hsiao Wang-tung? He should be purged. When the masses wanted to drag him out, T'ao Chu came out to protect him, took him to a hotel, moved him to a hospital under the pretext that he is ill. But, when he appears on the gate of T'ien An Men, he is full of spirit and in much better health than I. The new and the old Ministries of Culture in fact are all the same. The several vice ministers of culture are all very bad. They put the black gangsters under their wings. If you don't purge them and seize their power, it would be very dangerous."

Ch'i Pen-yu: "Class struggle in cultural departments is rather acute."

Chiang Ch'ing: "The demons and freaks must not be allowed to change the sky. You should be vigilant against the landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries and rightists. Only permit the Left to rebel but not the Rightists."

Representatives: "According to the instructions issued

by the CCP Central Committee concerning the strengthening of public security work in the course of the cultural revolution, can we request the personnel and security sections to hand out a list of names to the public? The point is many of us in the studio do not know them."

Ch'i Pen-yu: "Don't the revolutionaries in your studio know them?"

Representatives: "They say the political history is a matter of secret."

Ch'i Pen-yu: "This type of personnel and security sections only keep secret for the landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries and rightists. What you want them for? The revolutionary masses themselves can announce the names."

Chiang Ch'ing: "I don't see why you can't announce them. Announce them and put them under public supervision. You revolutionaries can announce them. In the Peking Movie Studio's film production section there are two secret agents of the Kuomintang Central Committee's Bureau of Investigation and Statistics. Class struggle in the cultural departments is very acute and complex."

"You must rally around the masses. The proletarian revolutionaries must be big-hearted (toward all). Can you be so? You must allow others to rectify their errors. You must punish the wrong doer in order to warn others, cure the sick to save their lives, unite the friends and keep away from the enemies, unite the majority and isolate the handful of persons in authority. Movie circles are too complex. You must not be too absolute. If you are hoodwinked, you confess. You have to be vigilant against being manipulated by others. After all, for whom do you seize power? (Answer from the masses: "Seize power for the proletariat.") Can you succeed in seizing power if you do not get into great alliance? You won't be able to keep it even if you

seize it. You'd better go back and consult each other. You are now attacking and accusing each other very seriously. I can't say which faction is correct and which is not. But there is one thing you must watch out: don't be duped. There is one indication at present. That is, some direct the spearhead of struggle at the masses. Others are playing tricks by setting up a proletarian command. You have got to be careful. You must not strike out at random. The most terrible thing is that the masses fight among themselves, particularly when it happens in literary and art groups. Now you on both sides become mad the minute you talk. You are not that mad when you struggle against the persons in authority taking the capitalist road but you are when you argue among yourselves. Surely there must be someone behind you pulling the wire behind the scenes. Some of the things you have done, such as cutting the telephone line, chasing automobiles, etc., are simply odd and not what you young people can devise. You must keep on your own guard. Now you leave the capitalist roaders alone and let them sit on the mountains to watch the tigers fighting. They of course feel very comfortable."

Ch'i Pen-yu: "As the masses fight among themselves, the black gang stand by calling 'bravo'."

Chiang Ch'ing: "You should join together and fight the handful of capitalist roaders in authority and the handful of people obstinately pursuing the bourgeois reactionary line. I hope all combat teams will overcome this small-factionism, uproot "ego" and practice great alliance. Among yourselves, both sides should practice self-criticism, so that you can get united, unless it concerns the question of big right and big wrong. You young people tend to be subjective and one-sided. For the cause of great proletarian cultural revolution and for the cause of overall seizure of power, you should start a rectification of work style when you go

back. I hope you will make a good study of the editorial of *Red Flag,* No. 3. An article which appeared in *People's Daily* yesterday (January 31) is well written, under the title "Down with 'Egoism', Bring about Great Alliance of Revolutionary Rebels." This is written by the Third Headquarters. Let me read a paragraph to you, as follows:

> 'We are making two revolutions at the same time, one for transformation of the objective world and the other for transformation of the subjective world. We are waging two struggles for the seizure of power at the same time, one to seize power from the capitalist roaders in authority and the other to seize power from 'egoism'. Only when we achieve the latter can we win a complete victory in seizing power from the capitalist roaders in authority.'

Here Comrade Chiang Ch'ing pointed out, "If there is no individual, there is no collective. This is relative unity. This article is well written. I suggest that you read it carefully. You two studios have not yet achieved any alliance. There are more than one thousand people in the August 1 Studio and more than seven hundred in the CDFS." Comrade Chiang Ch'ing went on reading:

> 'Seizing power from your mind is a painful process. But you must go through it. It takes the 'pulling out the bayonet crimson red' spirit to do it. And the best way to carry out this struggle is to follow Chairman Mao's instructions. That is, plunge yourselves into the rapid current of great proletarian cultural revolution by going into factories and rural areas to form one body with the workers and peasants. This is the only way to overcome the various weak points of the intellectuals and bring into fruition the task of revolutionization. The great alliance of revolutionary workers and revolutionary peasants is the core and main force of the great alliance of the proletarian revolutionaries of the whole nation.'

Chiang Ch'ing: "This article you must study well. I also suggest that you make a good study of the article 'Correct Handling of Contradictions among the People.' Where there is contradiction among the people, you should be good to people, think more of your own weakness and less of others' weakness. You young people should understand each other. You are still young. You should sit down and learn to consult at peace. You must have a big heart, adopt the attitude of uniting others, must always believe in Chairman Mao's words that the majority are good people. It is no good to ever close your door and confine yourselves to small-factionalism."

Question: "How should we handle those who were duped when the bourgeois reactionary line was criticized and repudiated but who have now waked up?"

Chiang Ch'ing: "They are the masses. We should welcome them and unite them."

Ch'i Pen-yu: "You make a good study of Chairman Mao's article "Concerning the Rectification of Erroneous Ideas Within the Party" and also the 'three much-read articles.' Besides that you must rid yourselves of 'egoism' and establish in a big way 'public-spiritedness'."

Chiang Ch'ing: "We are not to seize power for individual small groups; we are to seize power for the proletariat. To seize power in a big way, we must form great alliance in a big way. Naturally, our alliance is not 'combine two into one' and political reconciliation but to seek unity through struggles. Comrades, please think it over — how to conduct cultural revolution in literary and art circles. The time has come for us to seize power."

Ch'i Pen-yu: "Seizure of power is in full swing throughout the nation now, and it is not advisable to go

ahead with the exchange of revolutionary experience."

Chiang Ch'ing: "It is dangerous not to seize power in your hands. You should open the door for rectification of work style, you should form an alliance, a big alliance, to seize power in a big way and beware of instigation by bad people. The newsreels or documentary films are still necessary and should be produced. How many studio branches are there for shooting purposes?"

Representatives: "Twenty-seven altogether."

Chiang Ch'ing: "Send your team out where necessary."

Representatives: "Send one to every station?"

Chiang Ch'ing: "At the key points."

Representatives: "There is another question we have to raise for your approval."

Chiang Ch'ing: "Don't say 'approval' — we are all comrades."

Representatives: "What shall we do with the films of Ya-hsing Hui?

Chiang Ch'ing: "You consult with each other. Set up a team to make some preparations. Wait until after the forming of great alliance."

Representatives: "Comrade Chiang Ch'ing, may we put forth another question? You have just said that we cannot suspend production. (Comrade Chiang Ch'ing added, "Newsreels should be produced.") What shall we do if both sides still hold different opinions?"

Chiang Ch'ing: "You should consult each other to solve problems. You must learn to consult, learn to practice self-criticism, and study how to make a good job of Party cause. Time is up and I have other things to attend. I'll have a talk with you comrades another time. You go back and think things over carefully. That is, how to make the cultural revolution in literary and art circles?"

Representatives: "Please give our kindest regards to Chairman Mao."

Chiang Ch'ing: "Thank you all very much."

(Edited on the basis of minutes of the meeting; not scrutinized by the speakers.)

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CHIANG CH'ING SPEAKS AT CONGRESS OF RED GUARDS OF PEKING MIDDLE SCHOOLS

(Peking Kuangming Daily, March 27, 1967)

On behalf of the cultural revolution group under the Party Central Committee, Comrade Chiang Ch'ing extended warm greetings to the young revolutionary fighters.

She said: "The Red Guard movement started in Peking's middle schools. The moment the Red Guards appeared, our great leader Chairman Mao supported this new-born thing with the greatest revolutionary enthusiasm. This shows enormous concern of Chairman Mao for the young revolutionary fighters; it is the greatest honor for you young revolutionary fighters. You should treasure and uphold this honor.

"The revolutionary Red Guard fighters are pathbreakers in the great proletarian cultural revolution. In a fine display of the spirit of daring to think, speak out, break through and make revolution, you have broken through the resistance put up by the bourgeois reactionary line, rebelled vigorously against the handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road, and energetically destroyed the four olds of the exploiting classes and fostered the four news of the proletariat. By applying Chairman Mao's concept of class analysis, you have criticized and repudiated the reactionary idea of 'family lineage' of the exploiting classes, and put up unflagging struggle against the reactionary organization, 'the united action committee.' You have resolutely resisted, criticized and repudiated the bourgeois reactionary line, and energetically disseminated and implemented the proletarian revolutionary line of the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao.

"Guided by the invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung, the revolutionary Red Guards have performed immortal exploits in the great proletarian cultural revolution. This is something no one can erase. It is our hope that you revolutionary Red Guards will guard against arrogance and rashness, carry forward your merits, overcome your shortcomings and make new contributions to the great proletarian cultural revolution."

"The present task facing the young Red Guard fighters in the middle schools is for them actively to respond to the call of Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee to return to their schools and resume study while carrying on the revolution. You should attend classes and at the same time make revolution. You should rely on the masses of revolutionary teachers and students in the middle schools, resolutely carry out the proletarian revolutionary line of the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao, and thoroughly criticize and repudiate the bourgeois reactionary line. You should conduct to struggle, criticize and repudiate and transform in accordance with the 'decision of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party concerning the great proletarian cultural revolution' and the Party Central Committee's outline for the great proletarian cultural revolution in the middle schools, and carry the great proletarian cultural revolution in the middle schools through to the end. The phenomenon of our schools being dominat-

ed by bourgeois intellectuals must be completely changed.

"In order to accomplish this glorious but strenuous task, you Red Guard fighters must study and apply Chairman Mao's works in a living way in the course of struggle, launch a rectification and study campaign to straighten out your ideology, style of work and organization. It is our hope that you will modestly learn from the Liberation Army, vigorously destroy self-interest and foster the collective spirit, overcome such tendencies as seeking the limelight, mountain-stronghold mentality, small group mentality, liberalism, individualism, etc., and strengthen the proletariat's revolutionary spirit, scientific approach and sense of organization and discipline. We hope that you will, on the basis of Mao Tse-tung's thought, forge and consolidate the great alliance of proletarian revolutionaries, and build a highly proletarianized and militant revolutionary force.

"The great proletarian cultural revolution is a great revolutionary movement in the new stage of our country's socialist revolution. Only when the great alliance of the proletarian revolutionaries is forged and the masses are united, will it be possible to win complete victory in the great proletarian cultural revolution. Chairman Mao has repeatedly taught us that we must put into effect what Marx said, i.e., only by liberating the whole of mankind can the proletariat finally liberate itself, and that we should work conscientiously to unite with all those who can be united."

Comrade Chiang Ch'ing asked the Red Guard fighters to follow Chairman Mao's instruction in treating the teachers and cadres correctly and making a class analysis of them. It was erroneous to exclude, oppose and overthrow all the teachers and cadres indiscriminately. This erroneous practice was advocated by the few persons who put forward the bourgeois reactionary line.

"The majority of middle school teachers and cadres,"

she added, "are good or comparatively good. What we want to overthrow is the handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road and the small number of landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements and rightists who have wormed their way into the ranks of teachers and administrative workers and refused to remold themselves. The revolutionary teachers and cadres should be supported. With regard to those teachers and cadres who have made mistakes, we must adopt the policy of 'learning from past mistakes to avoid future ones' and 'curing the sickness to save the patient,' and help them correct their mistakes so that they will return to the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao."

Comrade Chiang Ch'ing said: "As for those students who were hoodwinked by the bourgeois reactionary line and committee some mistakes, we should patiently arouse their class consciousness, warm-heartedly help them correct their mistakes, and unite with them in resuming study while carrying on the revolution. We should not discriminate against them or exclude them, still less struggle against them. We should conduct the rectification and study campaign together with them, and, proceeding from the desire for unity and using the method of 'unity — criticism — unity,' help them return to the correct road. In this way, the tiny number of bad elements who obstinately cling to reactionary ideology and make a practice of beating, smashing and looting, will be isolated and brought to light before the masses; the few persons who have perpetrated serious crimes shall be dealt with by the public security departments in accordance with law.

"It is imperative to adhere to Chairman Mao's class line in order to bring about the great alliance of proletarian revolutionaries in the middle schools and to develop and strengthen the ranks of our revolutionary Left. In our rev-

olutionary ranks, Chairman Mao and our Party have always opposed both the tendency of disregarding one's class origin and the 'theory that only class origin should be taken into account.' Only by persistently following Chairman Mao's class line and gradually uniting with the majority of the students, teachers and cadres, will it be possible completely to overthrow the handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road and the small number of landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements and rightists who have wormed their way into the ranks of teachers and administrative workers and refused to remold themselves. We must pay attention to the methods of struggle, and carry out to the full various policies formulated by the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao. The struggle must be conducted by reasoning, not by coercion or force.

"The cultural revolution in your middle schools is part of the whole great proletarian cultural revolution and is inseparable from it. We hope that, while staying in school, you will keep the interests of the country and those of the world in mind.

"The present situation is excellent, both internationally and domestically, both in the great cultural revolution and in industry and agriculture. Of course, the exploiting classes and their representatives will not step down from the stage of history of their own accord. There will be reverses and twists and turns in the struggle. The development of the great proletarian cultural revolution is not even. Nevertheless, the over-all situation is excellent. You should draw inspiration from the excellent situation, and carry the great proletarian cultural revolution in your schools through to the end in the spirit of being concerned with State affairs and the world situation."

Comrade Chiang Ch'ing concluded her speech with this earnest hope: "You are Chairman Mao's Red Guards. We

hope that you will always read Chairman Mao's works, follow his teachings, act according to his instructions, try to remold yourselves and temper yourselves into reliable successors to the proletarian revolutionary cause."

CHIANG CH'ING SPEAKS AT INAUGURAL MEETING OF PEKING REVOLUTIONARY COMMITTEE

(Hsinhua News Agency, English, Peking, April 20, 1967)

Chiang Ch'ing, the first deputy leader of the cultural revolution group under the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, spoke at the rally to celebrate the establishment of the Peking Municipal Revolutionary Committee today.

She said: "Generally speaking, the present situation in China as a whole is favorable, very favorable. This very favorable situation is the result of our struggle led by Chairman Mao. It is the result of the great alliance of the proletarian revolutionaries and the result of the support given by the great People's Liberation Army."

She pointed out that, during the present stage in which the proletarian revolutionaries are forging an alliance to seize power, the revolutionaries should launch a mass movement to criticize and repudiate the top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road and, at the same time, gradually turn to the task of struggle (against and overthrow of the handful of Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road), criticism and repudiation (of the bourgeois reactionary academic "authorities" and the ideology of the

bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes) and transformation (of education, literature and art and all other parts of the superstructure that do not correspond to the socialist economic base) in the various departments according to local conditions.

Chiang Ch'ing said: "The handful of top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road are the agents of capitalist restoration and the behind-the-scene bosses of the counter-revolutionary revisionist clique of the Peking municipality.

"For 17 years, they have been putting forward and stubbornly persisting in a bourgeois reactionary line in various fields. The proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao has been developed in the struggle against this bourgeois reactionary line.

"We must thoroughly wipe out the evil influence of the bourgeois reactionary line on the political, economic, ideological and cultural fronts, and plant the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought on all positions."

She added: "The task of struggle, criticism and repudiation and transformation in the various departments and the work of criticizing and repudiating the top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road are not mutually exclusive and can be combined. The mass criticism and repudiation of the few top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road can give a strong impetus to the struggle, criticism and transformation in the various departments.

"In its turn, the struggle, criticism and repudiation and transformation in the various departments can serve to bring about a fuller exposure and a more profound criticism of the evils spread by the top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road on various fronts.

"This requires that we exert ourselves to make a good study of Chairman Mao's works, and do good work in

investigation and study," she said.

Chiang Ch'ing pointed out that it was essential for the socialist revolution and socialist construction to carry through the struggle, criticism and repudiation and transformation in the various organizations and departments successfully. "It is a major task, crucial for the next hundred years."

She said: "On the question of struggle, criticism and repudiation and transformation, we should not shift the target of struggle from the handful of Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road. We must thoroughly refute them.

The handful of counter-revolutionary revisionist cliques in the old Peking Municipal Party Committee, the old Propaganda Department of the Central Committee of the Party and the old Ministry of Culture, must also be exposed, criticized and repudiated in a deeper and more thorough-going way."

In conclusion, Chiang Ch'ing expressed the hope that the broad masses of revolutionary people in Peking would, "under the leadership of the Peking Municipal Revolutionary Committee, hold high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought, consolidate and develop the revolutionary great alliance in the course of the mass criticism and repudiation, and build Peking into a great school for the living study and application of Mao Tse-tung's thought."

IMPORTANT TALK GIVEN BY COMRADE CHIANG CH'ING ON SEPT. 5 AT A CONFERENCE OF REPRESENTATIVES OF ANHWEI WHO HAVE COME TO PEKING

Greetings to you all, comrades! (Loud shouting: Long live Chairman Mao! A long, long life to him!)

I have come rather hurriedly, and I have no idea of what is going on here. Old K'ang [K'ang Sheng] just dragged me here. Nor have I prepared for the few words which I shall say here. If what I am going to say is right, you may use it for reference; if not, you may criticize me. You may even bombard me or burn me!

I want to talk about the current situation. On the question of situation, there are some different views among us. We think that taking the nation as a whole, the situation of the great cultural revolution is excellent. If, however, the present situation is viewed in isolation, then of course it appears to be quite serious in certain areas and individual places. Actually, this is not so. Taking the country as a whole and from the historical point of view, isn't the situation this year greatly different from that at this time of the previous year?

At this time last year, the small handful of top Party

capitalist roaders in authority and their jackals in the localities still had considerable strength and were able to carry out activities. What about now? They have been paralyzed. Some of them have been struck down by the revolutionary young fighters. Paralysis itself is a good thing because the capitalist roaders in authority can move no longer. That is why revolutionary committees have been set up in some localities.

What is being done at present? The Central Committee is tackling the problems province by province, and city by city in the case of those large cities. Hasn't this been done in Anhwei, too? Now we have invited you comrades to come, so that both sides of you can sit down to solve the problems. This is also a good situation. Take your Anhwei for example. The situation there is quite different from last year, isn't it? The small handful headed by Li Pao-hua (李葆華) has been dragged out, and even such bad characters as Liu Hsiu-shan (劉秀山) and such traitors as Ch'eng — I forget his name (A representative from Hofei said: Ch'eng Ming-yuan 程明遠)! Hasn't Ch'eng Ming-yuan also been exposed in broad daylight? (Members of the good group cheered for a long time: Long live Chairman Mao!)

Comrades, Liu Hsiu-shan is a bad man, and I have long known about it. It is not true that I know about it just now. I have evidence to prove that he is a bad guy pulling the string from behind. It is quite possible that some people have fallen into the trap. Now we must pay attention to this and must not put the good people and the bad together. We are faced with a question. Liu Hsiu-shan has been all along in hiding in Peking, but now it is not known where he has gone. (Some representatives: He is in Hofei exercising direct command) Comrades, whatever the case, and in spite of the fact that you had quarrels and

fights before, you are now sitting down together for talks. Isn't this an excellent situation? (The good group: An excellent situation) (Comrade Chiang Ch'ing turned to the group of babblers 屁派) Why is there no answer from comrades on this side? Do you approve of it. (The group of babblers: An excellent situation.)

Looking back, from last year up to the present, tremendous changes have taken place. The campaign for mass criticism and repudiation of the top Party capitalist roader in authority is now gradually unfolding in the whole country, and fire is being opened against him on all fronts. It is necessary to pull him down, discredit him, and criticize him thoroughly and penetratingly. To do this, as I have said on many occasions previously, we must make it known to every household that we must criticize him more severely than we did Trotsky of the Soviet Union at that time in order to prevent China from changing color. This is because he has held power for a very long time, is a double-dealer, and has a whole set of cadre lines to protect his erroneous line.

But the moment Chairman Mao gave his order for the great proletarian cultural revolution, the young fighters went to the battleground and dragged these fellows out. To be sure, comrades may say: "Comrade Chiang Ch'ing has said it well, but in our place the struggle is quite severe." Our struggle, too, is rather severe, although we do not use force. Nevertheless, I have let it be known that if some people insist on having a violent struggle with me, I will surely defend myself and strike back. (Loud shouting: Learn from Chiang Ch'ing, and salute her!) Learn from you comrades, and salute to you all!

Comrades, I am not in favor of armed struggle, and you must not think that I like it, because I am firmly opposed to it. I resolutely support Chairman Mao's call for

"peaceful struggle, not armed struggle." What I mean is: when the class enemies attack us, how can we afford not to have an inch of iron in our hands [unarmed]? This is the situation I have in mind, but at present we need not have that kind of armed struggle.

Armed struggle always hurts some people and damages, State property. Why, then, should we be prodigal sons? And such a problem as this must be clearly explained. This "attack by words and defend by force" must not be deprived of its class content; it must not be viewed in isolation from definite circumstances and conditions. It would be bad if, on your return, you stir up fights by wearing fighter's caps and raising spears. (Old K'ang interrupted: Not spears. We now have the machine guns.) After firing a round of ammunition, a machine gun will have to be reloaded. On the whole, I feel that the situation is excellent. It has tempered the younger generation and the young fighters. It has also tempered the revolutionary cadres as well as men of the older generation like old K'ang! (Old K'ang interrupted: You people are tempering me every day.)

Comrades, don't think that the question of Anhwei is exceptionally complicated. I, for one, do not think so. Each question has its own pecularities. The present condition of Anhwei is much better than it was last year. And the situation now is better than it was a moment ago. It is wonderful that we have been able to sit down and talk, instead of fighting things out. This is a favorable situation; it is a good beginning. Now in various provinces the case is generally like this: Talks are being held through arrangements made by the Central Committee, and although there have been reversals in some individual places, reversals are a normal phenomenon. Besides, there are imbalances in the situation, but imbalances are also a normal phenomenon.

On the whole the situation is satisfactory and is developing in a favorable situation. This calls for the following several conditions: Leadership by the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao, which is the most important; the presence of the PLA as the pillar of the proletarian dictatorship to defend the great proletarian cultural revolution; and the gradual establishment of local revolutionary committees to promote revolutionary grand alliance and revolutionary "three-way combination" before we can carry out struggle-criticism-transformation and coordinate it with the nationwide mass criticism.

How do things stand at present in this connection? First, there are the Party capitalist roaders in authority, in addition to the landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, wicked people and rightists, in addition to US spies, Soviet spies, Japanese spies, and Kuomintang spies — all of them are bent on destroying us. With so many black hands hidden behind their backs, it is not easy for you to discern them. Appearing either as ultra-"Leftists" or as rightists, they are set to undermine the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao. This shall never be permitted and those who do so are doomed to failure.

Comrades, come to think of it: Do you permit this? (The audience: No, we don't!) At present, let us take Peking as an example. There is a bad thing, and I call it a bad thing because it is a counter-revolutionary organization, called the "May 16" Corps. Numerically it is not a large organization, and superficially the majority of its members are young people, who are actually the hoodwinked. The minority consists of bourgeois elements who nurse deep-seated hatred for us and who make use of the ideological instability of the young people. Those who really pull strings behind the scene are very bad indeed.

What about Anhwei? There are also some people who oppose the Central Committee and its nine-point, five-point

and other decisions. They have failed to carry them out. They have refused to carry them out. If things were done according to the nine-point decision reversals would not have taken place, and when reversals occurred, they would be a good thing. Now that you have come we welcome you. The "May 16" assumes an ultra-"Leftist" appearance; it centers its opposition on the Premier. Actually, it has collected black material to denounce every one of us, and it may throw it out in public at any time. (Old K'ang interrupted: Did you people of Anhwei send any person to collect material concerning the Cultural Revolution Group of the Central Committee? The representatives replied: Yes. He was Liu Hsiu-shan. Old K'ang asked again: To be fair, you of the good group had also sent someone to collect material, as the group of babblers had done. Liu Hsiu-shan had sent someone to collect material, and so had you of the two groups.)

We are not afraid of either group. With a clear conscience, what should we be afraid of? Go ahead and find the material you want! You people just eat and do nothing, so now you have chosen this thing instead of the revolution. Do what you like. I am not afraid. They had collected black material against me in the past, but only now have I discovered this. A case-study group while in Shanghai went to collect the material, saying that Comrade Ch'i Pen-yu had said the material concerned me. They had no choice but to bring out the material. When this material was brought back, I did not ask any questions. You see, a large trunk of it! Recently it has been found that in some places the so-called "special parties" have been set up. The setting up of these special parties is a tactic of the clowns, who cannot see the light. (Comrade Yao Wen-yuan interrupted: Clowns.) Clowns. From the right side they stirred up the gust of wind in February this year in opposition to

the great proletarian revolution; while at present those who stir up the "Leftist" wind to oppose the Central Committee oppose the Premier as ultra-"Leftists."

The "May 16" is a very typical counter-revolutionary organization, and we must raise our vigilance against it. US-Chiang spies, Soviet revisionist spies as well as the landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, wicked elements and rightists will never act honestly but will try all possible means to wage a death-bed struggle. This requires that we raise our vigilance, discern them, and do propaganda among the masses, awaken the masses, and isolate these bad people. They are only a minority who cannot see the light. This is to say that we oppose people who oppose the leadership group of the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao either from the Left, the extreme Left or from the right side. I advise you comrades to be more alert on this question.

Now we come to the second question — the army. Sometime earlier, there was this wrong slogan: Seize a "small handful in the army." As a result, "a small handful in the army" was seized everywhere and even the weapons of our regular troops were seized.

Comrades, come to think of it: Without the People's Liberation Army, is it possible for us to sit in the People's Great Hall holding a conference? (The audience: No.) If our field army were thrown into confusion and if trouble occurred, could we tolerate such a situation? (The audience: No.) Let us not fall into the trap. The slogan is wrong. Because the Party, the government and the army are all under the leadership of the Party. We can only talk about dragging out the handful of Party capitalist roaders in authority and nothing else. Were we to do otherwise, that would be unscientific, and the result would be that we got the wrong people everywhere, and almost all military

districts would be raided, both good and bad. Even if some comrades, a minority of comrades, some individual comrades in our army committed serious errors, they need not be dealt with in such a way.

The Chinese People's Liberation Army is an army personally created by Chairman Mao and under the direct command of Vice Chairman Lin Piao. It may be asked: Is there such an army in other part of the world? (The audience: No. Loud shouting: Learn from the PLA and salute to it.) Everywhere we seized their guns, beat them up, and scolded them. But they did not strike back, nor did they argue. Is there such an army in other part of the world? (Answer: No.) Now we must not fall into others' trap and drag out the small handful in the army everywhere and indiscriminately. I have talked with the young fighters of Peking about this question. Last year you went out to kindle the fire of the revolution and exchange revolutionary experience. But by going out again now, you will only do a disservice. You said that you were unable to drag out the small handful in the army and that you needed our help in doing this. In some places, this has been done. This is a wrong assessment of the situation, and the result of the fact that you have fallen into a trap set by others.

Young people are active of course. Struggle-criticism-transformation may be difficult, but if we ask you to sit down to read document and examine the data and then exercise your minds, that would be even more difficult and very arduous. Carrying out physical activities and even armed struggle are what the young people particularly like, and you too are fond of travelling from place to place. I heard that a rebel group in Wuhan — I do not know its name (Old K'ang interrupted: the Steel Second Headquarters). The moment it regained its strength, its members went from place to place in the whole country.

Therefore you must pay attention to this: When you go to a place, you may not understand the conditions there, and so you are liable to make mistakes there. It is for this reason that you must believe in the local masses and must not do the things which they should do themselves, just as we cannot make revolution on your behalf. All we can do is to consult with you and assist you.

The slogan of seizing the small handful in the army is wrong, and it has produced a series of undesirable consequences. Now this gust of wind has probably been checked.

You will ask: Does Comrade Chiang Ch'ing mean that the comrades in the army have made no mistakes? I do not mean this. Comrades in the army who have mistakes and shortcomings should be given a chance to criticize themselves. Even among ourselves, some veteran cadres have made mistakes, said the wrong words, and done the wrong things. I also often make mistakes myself.

On the battlefields they are very brave and very reliable! Being unable to keep pace with the developments in the great cultural revolution, they have made some mistakes and said or done some wrong things. But if they want to mend their ways and criticize themselves, they should be allowed to do so, as we should observe Chairman Mao's instruction that "we must take warning from past mistakes in order to avoid future ones and cure the sickness in order to save the patient." I have not studied the condition of Anhwei before and I do not know much about it now. I heard that when X X army returned, they did not welcome it. (Old K'ang interrupted: Good groups of Hofei and Huainan raided the headquarters of the 34th Division. I wonder if you know about the condition of Hofei. The present attitude which you have adopted should be criticized. T'ao Tsai-feng and Liang Shou-fu are quite wrong.) (The

good group of Huainan interrupted: The 34th Division is Linyen X X X X. This was disclosed by the peasants. It doesn't belong to Huainan.)

Whatever the way you see it, it is not good for the field army to be raided, and a precedent must not be set! Even the ammunition has been seized. (At this moment the two groups of Huainan started quarrelling with each other.)

Do you quarrel with me or with each other? Our field army is good. Our army is good. You see, the broad masses of commanders and fighters were formerly poor and lower-middle peasants and workers. They have resolutely executed the proletarian revolutionary line of the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao, and they did not involve themselves in the cultural revolution but did so only later. After getting themselves thus involved, they did not at first get at the truth and so it was inevitable that they should have some mistakes. Just put yourselves in their positions, and ask yourselves if you would make the same mistakes? I think you would — and quite easily. But I mean mistakes of a general nature, not mistakes of line or of principle. You cannot treat the army in such a way. When you seized their guns, some fighters wept. They knew that you were going to seize their guns, but they could not open fire, because they and you were all revolutionary masses.

At the front line of national defense, a strict order has been issued — an order which has already been approved by the Central Committee. If I were a garrison fighter, I would certainly fight back if someone seized my gun. Of course, opening fire is not good, but I have my own idea. If I were a garrison fighter and you came to take my gun, how could I know that you were a good or a bad man?

To be sure, guns are being seized on a nationwide scale.

The greater part of the guns of the militiamen belonged to the conservative groups so that some of these guns were not seized but were surrendered. Only a small number of Leftists have guns (the representatives started arguing with one another.)

Comrades, if my idea can play a good role, we should create the good conditions for its implementation. We must become revolutionaries of Mao Tse-tung's thought and not members of Chang's group or Li's group. The factional mentality is a petty bourgeois trait; it is the mountain-stronghold mentality, departmentalism, anarchism, anarchism in its grave form. (Yao Wen-yuan interrupted: We must properly study *Wen-hui Pao's* editorial "The Proletarian Party Character and the Petty Bourgeois Factional Character.")

If both sides of you make self-criticism, there will be no quarrels. It is good that both sides of you make self-criticism. When you oppose me, I go to your place to make self-criticism, and then you also make self-criticism. Later you too will feel ashamed. In this way we shall sit down and talk and seek agreement for the major issues while preserving differences over minor issues. The agreement over major issues refers to the revolution, to the great proletarian cultural revolution. Whether you stand on the side of the proletarian revolutionary line headed by Chairman Mao or on the side of the line taken by the capitalist roaders is a question of big right and big wrong. Under the premise of this big principle, if you are all struggling against the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road, is there any reason for being unable to unite and for not uniting? If we judge from your factional character, I think that, you work for yourselves and not for the revolution, the people and the proletariat.

If you are really proletarian revolutionaries, you must

first show the spirit of self-criticism. You must make exacting demands on yourselves and on your own group and not on others. If you quarrel, fight, wage armed struggle, and seize weapons, you cannot keep your heads sober and cannot distinguish between the right and the wrong. The right can be distinguished easily from the wrong. In Anhwei, that depends on whether you struggle against the small handful of capitalist roaders headed by Li Pao-hua and against the top Party capitalist roader in the whole country. If we all follow this premise, we shall have agreement on the major issues; herein lies the criterion. Some different practices and views may exist.

In our group there are also views which are by no means identical. Sometimes old K'ang and I do not see eye to eye. But we are able to unite under the big premise and unify our views. (Old K'ang interrupted: You must correct yourselves, and oppose yourselves.) While it is easy to revolutionize others, it is difficult to revolutionize oneself. This is because in one's mind there is the dark side as well as the bright side. The dark side represents the petty bourgeois and bourgeois things. If one does not get rid of these things, one will certainly drop out from the ranks and head for the opposite. If in one's mind one has self-interest, individualism, the small-group mentality, departmentalism and even anarchism, then one will not listen to any advice. And chaos will be created in our field army with its good organization, good discipline, good equipment and good political work.

'You will not do this. Those who want to do this area minority of bad people. To attain their aim, they sow dissension among you. You must not fall into the trap; you must be alert and calm and be good at distinguishing between enemies, ourselves and friends. Now, you even quarrel with friends sometimes, and sometimes willy-nilly

you engage in fights for no cause. Don't we want splits? Or don't we want to form a revolutionary great alliance? Comrades, what is your answer? (The good group: The alliance is good, the great alliance is great.) Comrade Chiang Ch'ing then turned to the group of babblers: You are silent. Are you willing to form an alliance? (The group of babblers answered: Willing.) It is only when we promote a great alliance and three-way combination and gradually establish revolutionary committees that we shall have people to lead us. The revolution cannot proceed without leaders!

Now the third question. It is necessary to set up gradually revolutionary committees and establish new leadership organs. At present, a gust of foul wind is blowing. Apart from being directed at the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao and at the People's Liberation Army, it is directed at the revolutionary committee — a new-born thing. It is inevitable that the revolutionary committee should have some shortcomings and mistakes, and it is inevitable that it is infiltrated into by some bad people. But it is after all a new-born product. It is born on the mass foundation. A wind is now being stirred up with the object of dissolving all revolutionary committees set up with the approval of the Central Committee. Isn't this a provocative act by those who harbor ulterior motives?

Comrades, are you aware of this? (Answer: We are.) After you have gradually established revolutionary committees, you must also be alert against this. Naturally, there may be some reversals, but we should not be afraid of them. Therefore, I think that under the present excellent situation we should be alert against this: that some people are trying from the extreme "Left" or from the Right side to undermine the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao, to undermine the People's Liberation Army, and

to undermine revolutionary committees. Behind them are not only the capitalist roaders in authority within the Party but also landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements and rightists as well as US-Chiang, Soviet revisionist and Japanese spies. We have data at hand and have caught them in large numbers. This is the merit of the young fighters.

Are you aware of a traitorous clique? (Answer: We are.) Great spy cases have been uncovered; these could not be uncovered in the past. That is why the merits performed in the present great cultural revolution are really tremendous. Until now we had no knowledge of the traitorous clique which had been lying low for several decades, and the credit for this must go to the Red Guards. Of course, so far as Anhwei is concerned, for the dragging out of that small handful of capitalist roaders, the credit must go to you. You must be on the alert all the time, because some people are bent on destroying the Party Central Committee, the PLA and the revolutionary committees.

The Party Central I mean is the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao. I want to remind you comrades that my opinions may not be necessarily perfectly all right, and you may criticize them. Now the Central Committee has adopted a document, and I shall read it to you here (Reading the CCP Central Committee's "Sept. 5" Order.) If we upset the operational system, what shall we do once trouble flares up? The imperialists are afraid of us; they are scared to death. The revisionists are also afraid of us; they are afraid of our great proletarian cultural revolution. Nevertheless, we must be on our guard! All proletarian revolutionaries, all Red Guard young fighters, all revolutionary masses, and all patriotic people must strictly follow and earnestly execute the Order. By doing so you will respond to our great leader Chairman Mao's call for

"supporting the army and cherishing the people," love and support the PLA. This is the common duty of all revolutionary masses and all patriotic people.

Truly proletarian revolutionary comrades should set an example in this regard. All revolutionary mass organizations must correctly understand the extensive democracy under conditions of proletarian dictatorship. On this question I want to say a few words. Is there the same extensive democracy as we enjoy anywhere in the world? (The audience: No.) You may post big-character posters against anyone. This is something which cannot be done anywhere in the world, and which is unprecedented in history. This is the most extensive democracy, which is possible only under conditions of proletarian dictatorship. We must correctly understand the "four-no" directive observed by the PLA; we must raise our vigilance in the complicated and sharp class struggle, guard against being used by the class enemies, prevent the class enemies at home and abroad from sowing dissensions and fishing in troubled waters. We must strictly guard against sabotages by the US-Chiang, Soviet revisionist and Japanese spies and the landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, wicked people and rightists, who attempt to weaken the fighting power and ruin the reputation of the PLA.

We must not paint a dark picture of the PLA, for they are our boys, and we must protect their honor. (Continuing to read out the Central Committee's Sept. 5 Order). Do you know what has happened? Military materials allotted for the support of Vietnam have been seized, and the ammunitions! (Yao Wen-yuan: Used for striking the US imperialists.) Those were ammunitions for striking the American imperialists! Later we issued an order to the effect that, no matter what group you belonged to, you must return the material you have seized, and if you do not re-

turn them, you will have to surrender your arms. They were so frightened that they returned the materials. Some people also seized foreign ships. In Peking a strange thing has happened: Some people went to the foreign embassies to make troubles and the office of the British Charge d'Affaires was burned down. We, of course, are determined to hit the American imperialists and reactionaries. But we must not make trouble at foreign embassies, and we must not go aboard foreign ships. It would be childish for good people to do so; and when bad people do this, they want to ruin the reputation of the country. (When she continued to read out and finished reading the Central Committee's "September 5" Order, she was greeted with thunderous applause.) As I see it, everybody supports this order! (Thunderous applause. Loud shouting of slogans: Learn from Comrade Chiang Ch'ing, and salute to her!

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II. EXTRACTS FROM CHIANG CH'ING'S TALKS

Following is a collection of passages taken from the various speeches and talks of Chiang Ch'ing, apart from what has been quoted above in the text and the first part of the appendices. — Editor

(1)

Why is there no audience for your opera? Are there any "Red scarves" [the Young Pioneers] among the audience? Are there any young students among your audience? Those who make up your audience are all men over 40.

The upper structure and the economic base are not in proportion. What would become of people's democratic dictatorship if the socialist stage is occupied by emperors, kings, generals and ministers?

Chiang Ch'ing's talk to the young members of Peking Opera Group 1 in the autumn of 1963. See "Comrade Chiang Ch'ing and 'Shachiapang'" carried in *Peking New Literary Gazette* May 18, 1967.

(2)

Little Sung, Chairman Mao expects you to be a Red and expert crusader for revolutionary literature and art.

Chiang Ch'ing said this to Sung Yu-ch'ing when she visited him in the hospital. Sung was to play the leading role in the opera "Raid on the White Tiger Regiment" but was sick at the time when the Festival of Peking Operas on Modern

Themes was held in Peking in 1964. See "History on Demonstrative Opera" by Kung Ch'i, Hong Kong *Wen-hui Pao*, July 28, 1967.

(3)

This opera cannot be presented as one which has as the center of description the "middle-of-the-roaders." It should depict the heroic images of the dockers who work on the wharf with their hearts for the motherland and their eyes on the world. It should give expression to the noble sentiment and strong will of China's working class for internationalism and patriotism.

Chiang Ch'ing's talks in Shanghai in 1965 when she helped rehearse the opera "On the Docks." See article "The Struggle of Two Classes as seen from Two Demonstrative Operas," written by the Revolutionary Fighters of the Cultural Troupe of the Revolutionary Opera Group of Shanghai, *People's Daily*, April 20, 1967.

(4)

All the oppressed people in the world are eagerly waiting for our revolutionary operas on contemporary themes. We must have a great ambition and a strong will, bear the people of the whole nation in our minds and think of the oppressed peoples of the whole world.

Talks given in Shanghai in 1965, encouraging the opera group of the Shanghai School of Peking Opera. *Ibid.*

(5)

Comrades, Revolutionary Fighters: How are you getting along? I give you my proletarian revolutionary salute!

Chairman Mao sends you his kind regards. You surely feel concerned about Chairman Mao. Let me tell you that he is very healthy.

You have done a great deal in this great proletarian cultural revolution. You have served the little Red Guard fighters and made it possible for the revolutionary students

and teachers throughout the country to see Chairman Mao and his close comrade-in-arms Comrade Lin Piao, as well as Comrade Chou En-lai and other responsible comrades of the Central authorities. You have done a wonderful job.

The reason why you have become an all-conquering force is because you are people's army equipped with Marxism-Leninism and Mao Tse-tung's thought.

Speech delivered by Chiang Ch'ing on December 19, 1966 to more than a hundred thousand commanders and fighters of the People's Liberation Army who took part in the work of taking care of the Red Guards. See *Hsinhua News Agency* (NCNA) Peking despatch, December 20, 1966.

(6)

Shih Chuan-hsiang is a traitor of the workers. He has been bought out.

The Red Guards show the tendency of anarchism? This cannot be described as anarchism. It is a tendency of extreme democratization. Your spiritual appearance is not good. You have to be steeled into proletarian "little monkeys."

You have to undergo military training for a period of time. I find you cannot concentrate your attention at the moment. Your spiritual appearance is not normal.

The Central authorities will issue a notice advising students to go back to their schools at different places.

The result of the struggle between the two lines is not yet definite (repeated three times). Appendix o the article "Study and the Situation" states, "Something which should not be beautified has been so done. The present erroneous line is very close to that current at the time. It is still wrestling with us at the moment. Now you want to be crowned with glory. Is that possible? The organization of the White area was destroyed a hundred percent at the time.

Is class struggle very acute?

His [Liu Shao-ch'i's] examination is not valid. It has not been passed by the cadres. It takes time to know people. I have known Teng Hsiao-p'ing for more than ten years. But I met Liu Shao-ch'i only in 1964. At the time I felt our Party was in a critical situation. I heard a report he delivered which lasted seven hours. It was nothing but a Khrushchev-type report. He opposed Chairman Mao's method of investigation and supported Wang Kuang-mei's idea — to stay at a fixed point in the countryside for a period of time — which was a farce.

Wang Kuang-mei was not honest. Before she went to Indonesia she came over to see me. At that time I was sick in Shanghai. She said she had to wear a necklace and some kind of dresses which look pretty. I told her that since she is the wife of the chairman of a big nation, it would be all right for her to have some new dresses made but since she is a Party member she had better not wear any necklace. For this matter she could not sleep for several nights, but she finally promised saying, "I will follow your idea and wear no necklace." But when she came to movie this time she again had her nacklace on. She has cheated me.

Why no movie? Shown at Tsinghua? Comrade Liu Chih-chien, has August 1 Movie Studio got any films? Shown at Tsinghua! It's a big poisonous weed. Drag Wang Kuang-mei back. I support you.

That was nine months ago! [This refers to Chiang Ch'ing asking Chen Po-ta to put up big-character posters on Liu Shao-ch'i]. Now you must have your back against his. But don't drag him out. You can do anything except this.

We hear people say the Cultural Revolution Group of the Central Committee wouldn't dare to go to Tsinghua.

In fact, this is not true. In the past there was a discipline which does not permit it. But there is no such rule now and we will come to Tsinghua to hear varied opinions.

You all say there is nothing for you to do. Actually there are many things which you can do but you do not see. I notice so many abnormal phenomena on the street. One of them is that many places where you formerly could put up big-character posters have now been painted red with quotations and slogans. This is a great waste of paints on the one hand. On the other, there is a political intrigue in it. It leaves no place on which to paste the big-character posters. Isn't this something you can do?

Chiang Ch'ing's talks at the forum of revolutionary teachers and students of colleges and universities held by the CCP Central Committee's Cultural Revolution Group on December 27, 1966; edited by K'uai Ta-fu and Chen Yu-yen of Tsinghua University on December 28, 1966. See handbill by the "Tempest", Combat Corps of Peking Institute of Electric Power, December 31, 1966.

(7)

Fellow Students, Red Guard Young Comrades-in-arms: You have travelled a long way to come here from different parts of the motherland. Here's our welcome to your arrival in Peking! Our great proletarian cultural revolution salute to you! You have followed Chairman Mao's instructions and come here on foot. You have shown the work style of being able to stand hardships and to practice frugality. You have taken workers and poor and lower-middle peasants as your teachers. You have carried on and developed the fine revolutionary tradition. We have much to learn from you. The road to revolution is zigzag and rough. You must march onward bravely and in extremely strong revolutionary spirit.

Talks at the rally held on December 28, 1966, for exchange of experience of students who marched to Peking from all

parts of the country. See *People's Daily,* December 29, 1966.

(8)

Liu Shao-ch'i's self-criticism this time is not any better than the first time.

Remarks made by Chiang Ch'ing at the Red Guards meeting held in December, 1966. See Big-character poster of Peking, January 8, 1967. *Agence Presse* Tokyo despatch of January 9, 1967, quoted from *Yomiuri Shimbun* Peking despatch.

(9)

He [referring to T'ao Chu] interprets and acts arbitrarily.

[Chiang Ch'ing said, interrupting Chen Po-ta in the course of his speech.]

Fellow Students: You must pay attention to the following two things when you go back to wage struggle: 1) You must act in a matter-of-fact way and verify facts, so that your position will be invulnerable. 2) You must work hard and be meticulous in your work. Win the majority, turn your minority into majority. You must be flexible in observing and judging the enemy. Many students who are in the majority have been hoodwinked, and it is not impossible now to work among them and divide them. Your work must be meticulously done. This is a matter of strategy. I hope you all will keep this in mind.

Talk to the Revolutionary Rebel Group proceeding to Canton to drag out Wang Jen-chung at a farewell reception given by Chiang Ch'ing together with Chou En-lai, Chen Po-ta, K'ang Sheng, Wan Li and Mu Hsin. See "Special Express" by the Red Pointed-knife Combat Corps, Cheng Fa Commune of Peking College of Law and Political Science.

(10)

Comrades of the Institute of Cartography and Survey have asked about the health of Chairman Mao. Let me tell you that he is in good health and Vice Chairman Lin Piao's health condition is also very good.

Units and organs with combat and protection duties, such as the Peking Military District, the Peking Garrison District, etc. must be left alone. Anyone who charges into any of them will be subjected to prosecution by dictatorship...Those who rob the Central Committee and the Military Committee of their files and documents will be put under arrest.

"Excerpts from Talks of January 24," 1967. See "Reference Bulletin" of February 11, 1967, of Ch'ih-tan Revolutionary Rebel Detachment, Tsinan University.

(11)

We, together with the comrades of the Peking Garrison Command, have done many things. Some of them are not done in the proper way, for which we should be held responsible. But it was by no means our responsibility that support has been given to the "United Action" Corps. It is hoped that comrades of the Garrison Command will heed the views of the Red Guards and will not stand against them. In order to restore the strength of the Left, the Red Guards must take the Left, not the "United Action", as the nucleus.

Talks to the representatives of the Red Guards, April 3, 1967. *Agence Presse* Tokyo despatch.

(12)

To achieve your struggle-criticism-transformation, to concentrate your strength on one target, and to strike down the Number One enemy within the Party — these are the things of paramount importance. Conflicts among the revolutionary factions will only please Liu Shao-ch'i, because such conflicts will weaken the strength of the united front against him.

Speech delivered to the Peking Red Guards Rally held on April 16, 1967. Prague despatch of April 18, Czechoslovak

Telegraph Agency.

(13)

Chairman Mao has given the order to set you free and asked us to exchange experience with you. Even if you make mistakes in the future, I am sure you will not be arrested. You have to be responsible for your own errors though. Will you oppose me again?

Talk on April 22, 1967 to 139 representatives of the "United Action" Red Guards who have just been set free. AP Tokyo despatch, April 26.

(14)

The close-door-ism shown in the attitude of the General Political Department led by Hsiao Hua should be subjected to criticism. He hasn't done anything to push the cultural revolution ahead.

AP Tokyo despatch of September 6, 1967. Quoted from Peking despatch of *Keizai Shimbun.*

III. PASSAGES EULOGIZING CHIANG CH'ING

1. Lin Piao

Comrade Chiang Ch'ing and I had a talk yesterday. She is politically very strong in the work of literature and art. She knows art and has many valuable views about it. You must give serious attention to them and put them into practice ideologically and organizationally.

From now on, the Army's documents concerning culture should be sent to her. Get in touch with her when you have any information so as to keep her informed about the condition of literary and art work in the armed forces. Ask for her opinion for the improvement of this work in the armed forces.

Lin Piao's directive of February, 1966 to the army cadres attending the forum on literature and art in the armed forces. "Minutes of the Forum on Literature and Art in the Armed Forces" called by Chiang Ch'ing at the request of Lin Piao. *People's Daily*, May 29, 1967.

2. Chou En-lai

The above-mentioned success achieved in the revolutionization of literature and art is inseparable from the guidance of Comrade Chiang Ch'ing as well as from the support and cooperation of the revolutionary Left in literary

and art circles. This is the result of a firm struggle against the black revisionist line in literary and art circles throughout the period from the 1930's to the 1960's. Comrade Chiang Ch'ing personally participated in the practice of struggle and art.

Speech delivered at the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution Rally of Literary and Art Circles, held in Peking, November 28, 1966. *People's Daily*, December 4, 1966.

3. Chen Po-ta

Among the comrades who have firmly upheld such policy as revolution in literature and art and who have waged an unfllinching struggle against the reactionaries and the counter-revolutionary revisionist elements, Comrade Chiang Ch'ing has made the most outstanding contribution.

Ibid.

Comrade Chiang Ch'ing has consistently upheld and safeguarded Chairman Mao's revolutionary line on literature and art. She has fought in the forefront. In recent years she has done her utmost in getting up a number of revolutionary patterns in the field of operas, music and dances. She has driven demons and freaks off the stage of literature and art and established the heroic images of workers, peasants and soldiers. Under the guidance of Mao Tse-tung's thought, many literary and art workers, together with Comrade Chiang Ch'ing, have become the pioneers of literary and art revolution.

Speech at the May 23, 1967 rally marking the 25th anniversary of the publication of "Talks at the Yenan Forum on Literature and Art." See *People's Daily*, May 24, 1967.

4. Kuo Mo-jo

I composed a poem last night to express my deep feeling of commemoration. Please allow me to recite these lines which I am afraid are rather crude, as a tribute to

Comrade Chiang Ch'ing as well as to all comrades and fellow students here. [Note: The poem has already been introduced in the text and will not be repeated here.]

Speech delivered at the closing session of the discussion meeting commemorating the 25th anniversary of the publication of "Talks at the Yenan Forum on Literature and Art," held by the Permanent Organization of the Afro-Asian Writers' Bureau on June 5, 1967.

5. *Red Flag*

In the light of Mao Tse-tung's thought, Comrade Chiang Ch'ing discussed the great significance of the revolutionization of Peking opera and expounded its guiding principles as formulated by Chairman Mao in her July, 1964 speech at the forum of theatrical artists and workers participating in the Festival of Peking operas on contemporary themes. This speech is an important document in the use of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Tse-tung's thought, to solve the problems encountered in the revolutionization of Peking opera.

Illuminated by the great thought of Mao Tse-tung, guided by Comrade Chiang Ch'ing, and through the efforts made by the great numbers of revolutionary comrades in Peking opera circles, new revolutionized Peking opera finally broke through the old fortress of emperors and kings, generals and ministers, scholars and beauties.

Editorial entitled, "Hail the Tremendous Victories in the Revolutionization of Peking Opera," *Red Flag*, No. 6, April 1967.

6. *People's Daily*

Holding high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought, Comrade Chiang Ch'ing fought viliantly in the van and took part in the struggle for the revolutionization of the dramatic arts. She led a group of revolutionary pathbreakers in literary and art circles and a group of "nobodies"

in breaking through the strong resistance of a handful of Party capitalist roaders to capture the stronghold of Peking opera which was known as the most stubborn in the dramatic arts, the insurmountable "peak" of ballet and the "pure music" of symphony, establishing eight revolutionized specimen works radiant with the thought of Mao Tse-tung for Peking opera, ballet and symphony music for the first time and sounding the clarion call for the development of new, proletarian literature and art.

Editorial entitled, "Fine Models of Revolutionary Literature and Art, *People's Daily*, May 31, 1967.

7. Ch'i Pen-yu

(Member of the Cultural Revolution Group of the CCP Central Committee)

Following Chairman Mao's two extremely important instructions, Comrade Chiang Ch'ing, a most courageous fighter on the cultural front, responded enthusiastically to the call of Chairman Mao and led vanguard fighters in the cultural revolution to mount an offensive against the stage of art occupied by the lords of the exploiting classes. They broke through ring after ring of repression and obstruction created by the handful of Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road, and for the first time succeeded in making the heroic image of the real creators of history — workers, peasants and soldiers — shine in splendor on the stage of Peking opera, ballet and symphonic music.

The lords and ladies and their pampered sons and daughters who for so long have dominated the stage of art are beginning to be ousted. This reversal of history has been reversed.

In November, 1965, the proletarian revolutionaries in Shanghai, carrying out Chairman Mao's instruction given at the 10th plenary session of the 8th Central Committee of the Party and under the leadership of Comrade Chiang Ch'ing, mounted a campaign for criticism and repudiation of the play "Hai Jui Dismissed from Office," thus firing the first shot at the P'eng Chen counter-revolutionary revisionist clique and sounding the clarion call for the great proletarian cultural revolution.

In February, 1966, Comrade Chiang Ch'ing, commissioned by Comrade Lin Piao, sponsored the forum on literary and art work in the armed forces. This was a highly important meeting in the history of China's struggle in the field of culture. As pointed out by Comrade Chiang Ch'ing, the forum called on the "venerable god" (*tsun shen* 尊神) — the People's Liberation Army — which defends the proletarian dictatorship to open a fierce attack on the handful of Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road and the reactionary "authorities" who monopolize the leadership in cultural circles for a long period.

To seize the position for literature and art from the hands of the bourgeois class and to safeguard Chairman Mao's revolutionary line on literature and art, a protracted war has been waged tenaciously under the leadership of Comrade Chiang Ch'ing.

"Chairman Mao's 'Talks at the Yenan Forum on Literature and Art' Is the Program for Building a Great Proletarian Cultural Army." *People's Daily*, May 24, 1967.

Comrade Chiang Ch'ing first intended to say a few words to you but she has been having a cold and will not talk today. She should have stayed home resting but wants to celebrate the convening of this meeting and meet all you comrades and friends, so here she is.

Was not the old Peking opera already on the decline? But under the personal leadership of Comrade Chiang Ch'ing, the path-breakers of China's proletarian cultural revolution have given a vigorous youthful life to this declining Peking

opera and created fine specimens on contemporary themes, such as "The Red Lantern," "Taking the Bandits' Stronghold," "Shachiapang," "On the Docks," and "Raid on the White Tiger Regiment."

Through flexible study and application of Chairman Mao's writings and guided by his revolutionary line on literature and art, Comrade Chiang Ch'ing has applied what she has learned, worked hard, and turned the old art into a glittering pearl with which to dispel the dark rule of the old stage. She has ousted from the stage the emperors and kings, generals and ministers, scholars and beauties, lords and ladies, and their pampered sons and daughters, who have dominated the stage for so long a time, and let the heroic images of workers, peasants and soldiers sparkle, thus restoring the history which has long been reversed.

Another group of cultural revolution fighters have, under the guidance of Comrade Chiang Ch'ing, transformed the old ballet and symphony of foreign countries, and new forms of art shining with brilliance have emerged. Among them are the ballets "The Red Detachment of Women" and "The White-haired Girl" and the symphony "Shachiapang". Are they not convincing proofs?

Speech delivered at the closing session of the discussion meeting held by the Permanent Organization of Afro-Asian Writers Bureau in commemoration of the "Talks at the Yenan Forum on Literature and Art" on June 5, 1967. See "March Onward in Big Strides along Chairman Mao's Revolutionary Line on Literature and Art," *People's Daily*, June 6, 1967.

8. Yao Wen-yuan

(Member of the Cultural Revolution Group, CCP Central Committee)

Comrade Chiang Ch'ing has steadfastly adhered to Chairman Mao's proletarian line on literature and art as defined in the "Talks", carried out an unflinching struggle against the reactionary literary and art line of the bourgeoisie, and made a vital contribution to the great proletarian cultural revolution. She has warm-heartedly supported the newborn proletarian forces in cultural circles who persist in the direction pointed out in the "Talks". She has dared to oppose each and every hard-and-fast rule of those reactionary bourgeois authorities. The revolution of Peking opera and the revolution of other forms of theatrical art initiated and guided by her have destroyed the strongest citadel of the reactionary bourgeois and feudalist art and literature, and created a number of brand-new revolutionized Peking operas, ballets, and symphonies, and established brilliant examples for the revolutionization of literature and art.

When the old Peking Municipal Party Committee was controlled by elements of P'eng Chen's counter-revolutionary revisionist clique, Comrade Chiang Ch'ing, acting on Chairman Mao's instructions, launched criticism and repudiation of P'eng Chen's counter-revolutionary revisionist clique in Shanghai, kindling the raging flames of the great proletarian cultural revolution.

Speech at the Shanghai rally commemorating the 25th anniversary of the publication of "Talks at the Yenan Forum on Literature and Art." See article "Chairman Mao's 'Talks' Is the Program for Making the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution," *People's Daily*, May 25, 1967.

9. Hsieh T'ang-chung

(Chief of Cultural Section, General Political Department of People's Liberation Army)

Comrade Chiang Ch'ing has learned the thought of Mao Tse-tung extremely well, understands it deeply, and applies it very flexibly and firmly.

Speech at the cultural revolution rally of Peking's literary and art circles, November 28, 1966.

10. Ting Hsueh-lei

(Member of the Cultural Revolution Group of Shanghai)

Guided by the brilliant thought of Mao Tse-tung, Comrade Chiang Ch'ing, holding high the great banner of proletarian cultural revolution, first led the revolutionary literary and art circles to launch a valiant and tenacious attack on the strongest fortress of feudalism and capitalism — the Peking opera — and stir up a world-shaking revolution in Peking opera, and successfully started a battle in the forefront of the proletarian cultural revolution.

Beginning from April 1964, Comrade Chiang Ch'ing personally took the lead in effecting a reform of Peking opera, which is of great significance. On the basis of Chairman Mao's thought of literature and art and following the direction pointed out in the "Talks", she offered a series of important opinions. Not only has this instilled vigor into the opera "Taking the Bandits' Stronghold" but it represents a great contribution to the revolutionization of Peking opera and even the entire socialist literature and art.

"A Brilliant Milestone for the Proletarian Literature and Art," *People's Daily*, May 27, 1967.

11. Li Yen

(Representative of the August 1 Movie Studio)

Comrade Chiang Ch'ing has expressed her close concern over the movie enterprise. In order to make a good picture of the "Great Wall of the South Seas," she read and examined the text of the movie many times, she talked it over with the script writer, the director and the actors and actresses many times, besides that she inspected the sample copy of the film over and over again.

Speech at the cultural revolution rally of Peking's literary and art circles on November 28, 1966, *People's Daily*, December 4, 1966.

12. Chin Ching-mai

(Member of the Cultural Revolution Group, CCP Central Committee)

He (Liu Shao-ch'i — Editor) came out in person to make trouble with the opera "On the Docks," a Peking opera on contemporary theme, and directed his henchmen to carry out frantic persecution of the revolutionary Left represented by Comrade Chiang Ch'ing who had faithfully implemented Chairman Mao's revolutionary line on literature and art. They made great efforts to belittle the model revolutionary works created under the personal guidance of Comrade Chiang Ch'ing. They know that the revolutionary Left led by her in literary and art circles have broken the strongest bulwark — the Peking opera — and that this would push forward the entire literary and art circles to revolution, so their days were numbered.

"Resolutely Defend Chairman Mao's Revolutionary Line on Literature and Art," *People's Daily*, May 11, 1967.

We are highly proud of the proletarian literature and art we have created, because we have Comrade Chiang Ch'ing as our vanguard who has combated the black line of literature and art most determinedly and carried out the "Talks" most faithfully. We have been advised by Comrade Chiang Ch'ing again and again to make no mention of her name in anything we write or say but we cannot bring ourselves to doing so.

"Dark clouds are hanging low over the city and about to crush it." At a time when the reactionary revisionist Chou Yang and his ilk were utterly arrogant, who led the revolutionary Left resolutely to open a gap for the proletarian art and literature? Who has cultivated, from a weed-infested wasteland, a cultural front in which are blooming eight beautiful flowers? It was Comrade Chiang Ch'ing.

"Let Chairman Mao's Revolutionary Line on Literature and

Art Command the Great Cultural Army," *People's Daily*, May 24, 1967.

13. Wang Meng-yun

(Member of Peking Opera Group 1, plays the role of Grandma Sha in "Shachiapang")

In the course of my study and rehearsal of Peking opera on contemporary themes in recent years, I have constantly received education from Comrade Chiang Ch'ing, the great forerunner in the revolutionization of Peking opera, and gradually come to realize the glorious duty of a revolutionary literary and art worker. Her boundless loyalty to the thought of Mao Tse-tung and her valiant spirit of a proletarian revolutionary for the firm implementation of Chairman Mao's line on literature and art is a profound education to me.

Revolution in Peking opera has, in a short span of several years, resulted in the emergence of such a large number of specimen Peking operas. Highly unified both in ideology and in art, they are warmly accepted by the great revolutionary masses. This shows fully the great creative power of the proletariat and the revolutionary people and is a severe blow to the top capitalist roader and his jackals within the Party. This great success must be attributed first to the great thought of Mao Tse-tung and then to Comrade Chiang Ch'ing for her loyalty in carrying out Chairman Mao's instructions.

"Make Revolution All My Life, Play Revolutionized Operas All My Life," *People's Daily*, May 11 ,1967.

14. Peking Broadcasting Station

Comrade Chiang Ch'ing is the pioneer of the proletarian cultural revolution while the revolution in Peking opera is a prelude to the cultural revolution.

Broadcast of January 6, 1967.

15. T'an Yuan-shou

(Member of Peking Opera Group 1, plays the role of Kuo Chien-kuang in "Shachiapang," presently member of the Revolutionary Committee of Peking Municipality)

When the struggle between the two lines was at its crucial stage, our respected and beloved Comrade Chiang Ch'ing came to visit us in Peking Opera Group 1, and brought us the great thought of Mao Tse-tung, opening a brand new road for the revolutionization of Peking opera.

Comrade Chiang Ch'ing, to make socialist literature and art better serve proletarian politics, has conducted a penetrating, meticulous and extensive research and study in dramatic circles.

In this speech, Comrade Chiang Ch'ing has given us courage and strength. She has warmly encouraged us to do what had not been done by our predecessors and to cut open a new path through briers and brambles. She has led us to start the revolutionization of Peking opera, a task of tremendous historic significance.

In the current struggle, our respected and beloved Comrade Chiang Ch'ing has made an outstanding contribution and set an ever brilliant record in the cause of proletarian revolution.

In the course of our contact with Comrade Chiang Ch'ing, we have come to appreciate deeply the infinite love she cherishes for and the boundless loyalty she shows to the thought of Mao Tse-tung. Toward the cause of Party she is utterly responsible. Besides, she herself set an example in upholding principles and in waging persistent struggles. To us all this is a great inspiration and education which makes us feel all the more confident and determined in serving workers, peasants and soldiers wholeheartedly all our lives.

"Be a Pioneer in the Revolutionization of Peking Opera,"

People's Daily, May 11, 1967.

16. Tu Chin-fang

Famous Peking opera actress, wife of Peking opera actor Yeh Sheng-lan, member of the Peking Opera School of China, and co-worker of Li Shao-ch'un and Yuan Shih-hai. She has been abroad several times with a theatrical troupe. She used to play the leading role in the old Peking operas "Peach Bloom Fan," "Hsieh Yao-huan," "The Romance of West Chamber," etc. After sincere self-criticism during which she admitted her errors, she has been specially pardoned by Chiang Ch'ing and promoted to be one of the leading members of the Revolutionary Committee of the Peking Opera School of China.

That night, I was so excited that I could not sleep. This was the first time in my life that I heard such an instruction. What Comrade Chiang Ch'ing had given us was not merely a play ["The Red Lantern"] but in a sense a splendid red lantern radiant with the brilliance of the thought of Mao Tse-tung, which lit the way of advance for the reform of Peking opera.

Not only has Comrade Chiang Ch'ing selected a fine play for us. She has also, with a great sense of responsibility and great zeal, given us invaluable guidance ranging from the structure of the play, the feelings of the characters, music and singing to artistic designs. To solve one problem, she often lay awake a whole night.

At a time when the struggle between two classes and two lines was acute and complex, our respected and beloved Comrade Chiang Ch'ing, with striking stamina, marched forward, overcame all obstacles in her way and performed a meritorious service.

At a time when the counter-revolutionary revisionists entrenched themselves in important positions, abused their authority and viciously opposed Chairman Mao's revolutionary line on literature and art while the broad masses of literary and art workers had lost their bearings, it was Comrade Chiang Ch'ing who, holding high the red banner of the thought of Mao Tse-tung, came to fight with the masses.

At a time when the devils were dancing wildly on the stage and demons and freaks were let loose, Comrade Chiang Ch'ing was the first to call for establishing contemporary revolutionary plays.

At a time when the decadent reactionary forces were struggling desperately and launching a frantic counter-attack from all directions, it was Comrade Chiang Ch'ing who, armed with the four volumes of revolutionary documents, stood erect and led the broad masses of revolutionary literary and art workers to fight bravely in a blood bath, dispel the evil mist and black wind, conquer the most stubborn fortress in theatrical art, completely overthrow the rule of emperors, kings, generals, ministers, scholars and beauties, consolidate the proletarian dictatorship, and establish on the socialist stage a revolutionary specimen play sparkling with the thought of Mao Tse-tung.

At a crucial moment when the counter-revolutionary revisionists poisoned the minds of the young literary and art workers with their "three-famous" and "three-high" (famous actor, famous director and famous playwright; high salary, high remuneration and high prize) idea, it was again Comrade Chiang Ch'ing who taught everybody to creatively study and apply Chairman Mao's works, destroy self-interest and foster public interest, completely smash the bourgeois "star system" and feudalist habit of forming guilds, and who went deep among the workers, peasants and soldiers to become a true proletarian fighter in literature and art.

It is only justified to say that Comrade Chiang Ch'ing is the most staunch and valiant fighter in the literary and art front, who holds high the red banner of the thought of Mao Tse-tung in the course of this great proletarian cultural revolution which is unprecedented in history.

"Long Live Chairman Mao's Brilliant Revolutionary Line on Literature and Art," *Red Flag*, May 27, 1967.

17. Ch'ien Hao-liang

(Plays the role of Li Yu-ho in "The Red Lantern")

At such a critical moment, Comrade Chiang Ch'ing stood out bravely, waged a tit-for-tat struggle against this counter-revolutionary, revisionist, black line on literature and art, and defended Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line on literature and art. Raising high the red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought, Comrade Chiang Ch'ing led us to carry out revolution and rebel against the old Peking opera, and made a personal effort in leading us to rewrite and rehearse "The Red Lantern," a revolutionary Peking opera on contemporary theme, thus sounding the bugle for the revolutionization of Peking opera.

In this struggle, Comrade Chiang Ch'ing all the time held aloft the red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought on literature and art. She persevered in the direction of having literature and art serve workers, peasants and servicemen, led us to break through a tight siege, to surmount difficulties and to smash the plots and tricks of the counter-revolutionary revisionist elements. In the end, the successful rewriting and rehearsal of "The Red Lantern" was completed and a Peking opera on modern theme emerged. On the stage of Peking opera, a towering image of the proletarian hero was molded.

Looking back, we see that the guidance given us by Comrade Chiang Ch'ing in every instance has fulfilled the glorious thought of Chairman Mao. She is examplary in the creative study and application of Chairman Mao's writings. On the road of revolution in Peking opera, she is a harbinger marching in the foremost front, holding the red banner aloft. She is a good example for us to follow at all times.

"Mold a Towering Image of the Proletarian Hero," *Red Flag*, No. 8, May 23, 1967.

18. Yu Hui-yung

(Member of Peking Opera School of Shanghai and composer of music for operas "Taking the Bandits' Stronghold" and "On the Docks"

This [the specimen Peking opera] represents a great victory for the thought of Mao Tse-tung, an important achievement of the great proletarian cultural revolution, and a special contribution of Comrade Chiang Ch'ing to the revolutionization of Peking opera.

In order to realize Chairman Mao's teaching on "unity of the political content of revolution with the most perfect form of art," Comrade Chiang Ch'ing has participated in the practice of struggle and the practice of art in the operas "Taking the Bandits' Stronghold" and "On the Docks." She has grasped the principle, the themic thought, as well as the details of art. Every word and sentence, every tune and beat, is permeated with pains she took in remolding the art. Her thorough-going revolutionary spirit and high sense of revolutionary responsibility in firmly implementing the thought of Mao Tse-tung have moved us deeply and inspired us to march forward with courage. Through this our affection for the grand old Chairman and his great thought is tremendously deepened.

"The Revolutionization of Peking Opera Is a Great Victory for the Thought of Mao Tse-tung," *People's Daily*, May 24, 1967.

19. Chung Jun-liang

(Ballerina in "The Red Detachment of Women")

With a clap of spring thunder, the day which we have long longed for finally came. In the spring of 1964, Comrade Chiang Ch'ing personally led the task of revolutionizing the ballet, and brought Chairman Mao's red line on litera-

ture and art to our troupe.

When the play was first chosen, counter-revolutionary revisionist Lin Mo-han promptly suggested to rehearse "Ta-chi and Her Father" which extolled bourgeois human nature, in a vain attempt to lead the reform of ballet astray. At that important juncture, Comrade Chiang Ch'ing closely followed the course of revolutionization and specifically selected for rehearsal "The Red Detachment of Women" which manifested Chairman Mao's idea on the people's war. Lin Mo-han's plot was thus smashed.

In this storm of acute class struggle in literature and art circles, it was Comrade Chiang Ch'ing who stood up in person to cut a way out through thick and thin. She was not afraid of the blows and converging attacks of the counter-revolutionary revisionists, nor had she any fear for difficulties and hazards. She held high the great red banner of the thought of Mao Tse-tung, firmly defended Chairman Mao's revolutionary line in literature and art, and led us to breach those most feudal and capitalist citadels of art — Peking opera, ballet, and symphony. Both her words and her deeds made us cherish ever more fervently our great leader Chairman Mao.

"A Bright Beacon Light Showing the Way for the Revolutionization of the Ballet," *People's Daily*, May 24, 1967.

20. Ch'en Ju-t'ang

(Director of the symphony "Shachiapang")

In January 1964, Comrade Chiang Ch'ing, bringing with her the concern and warmth of Chairman Mao and holding high the torch of the thought of Mao Tse-tung, came to the Central Philharmonic Society to ignite the fire of revolutionizing the symphony.

In this reform of symphony, Comrade Chiang Ch'ing has made an outstanding contribution.

"The Revolutionized Symphony 'Shachiapang' Has Fought Its Way Out of the old Camp," *People's Daily*, May 24, 1967.

21. General Affairs Office, CCP Central Committee

In her speech at the meeting of representatives from Anhwei, Comrade Chiang Ch'ing made an accurate analysis of the situation of the current proletarian cultural revolution and clearly set forth the combat task of the proletarian revolutionaries. All revolutionary committees, military control committees and revolutionary mass organizations should get organized seriously to listen in and study this tape-recorded speech, so as to grasp more firmly the main direction in which to carry out struggle in the great proletarian cultural revolution and to make a good job of criticism and repudiation, great alliance, the "support the army, cherish the people" work. [This speech was not published. — Editor]

Circular of the General Affairs Office, CCP Central Committee, September 9, 1967, *Hsinhua News Agency* Peking despatch, September 16, 1967.

22. Anhwei (revolutionaries)

Comrade Chiang Ch'ing's speech has enabled us to see better the excellent situation existing of the revolution and realize all the more clearly our combat duty. Also, it has increased our strength considerably.

Hsinhua News Agency Hofei despatch, September 17, 1967.

23. Shanghai (revolutionaries)

Comrade Chiang Ch'ing's speech is the combat call issued by the proletarian command headed Chairman Mao and the voice of our great respected and beloved Chairman Mao.

Hsinhua News Agency Shanghai despatch, September 17, 1967.

24. Hsieh Fu-chih

The important speech of Comrade Chiang Ch'ing is the latest directive of the proletarian command headed by Chairman Mao and also the latest call which we must study seriously and carry out actively.

Peking Radio Broadcast, September 19, 1967.

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